

California Historical Quarterly

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COVER: A working-class couple seated in a street cafe somewhere in San Francisco is one of the many local scenes rendered by California's master realist artist, Frank Van Sloun (1879-1938). Best known for his easel and mural paintings, Van Sloun's outstanding and innovative graphic achievements, particularly his etchings and monotypes, have only recently come to light. The article beginning on page 345 explores Van Sloun's contributions to twentieth-century American art. "Hard Times" (c. 1932), the monotype on the cover, is in the collection of Dr. Jacob and Helen Foster, Salinas.

California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LIV WINTER 1975 NO. 4

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California's master realist artist Frank Van Sloun immortalized "Flossie," a woman of the San Francisco streets, in his well-known 1920 oil on canvas. Articles and a Van Sloun Portfolio begin on page 345. Richard and Renate Davids Collection.

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Clair Engle
for
District Attorney

Qualified by
Experience
Temperament
Training!

A TEHAMA COUNTY SON
for
A TEHAMA COUNTY OFFICE

Clair Engle



for
District Attorney
Tehama County

VITAL FACTS

At early age came to Manton District, Tehama County with parents, Mr. and Mrs. Fred J. Engle;

Later moved to Gerber, and after 5 years thence to Los Robles where parents still live;

Graduated from the Red Bluff High School, Chico State College, and the Hastings College of the Law;

With the LAW FIRM of NEWBURGH & SOMMER, San Francisco, for nearly TWO years, and past the bar examination;

Returned to Tehama County in December 1933, with wife and daughter; and opened law offices in Corning;

Been associated on all prosecutions as ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY since returning to Tehama County.

PLATFORM PLANKS

**Economical
Administration**

Will refuse to waste tax payers money in attempting to convict in hopeless or unmeritorious cases; there must always be clear, available evidence of guilt.

**Successful
Prosecutions**

Promises vigor and determination in the preparation and trial of criminal cases.

In 1934 Clair Engle ran for his first political office, waging a typically thorough, methodical, and aggressive campaign. His slogan, "A Tehama County Son for a Tehama County Office," devastated the opposition and made Engle, at age twenty-two, the youngest district attorney in California.

Clair Engle and His Political Development in Tehama County, 1911-1944

STEPHEN SAYLES

Doctoral candidate in history at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, whose Master's thesis was completed under the direction of W. H. Hutchinson at California State University, Chico.

WHAT WAS ONCE SAID OF WILLIAM MORRIS STEWART, perhaps the prototype "Silver Senator" from Nevada, that "he bestrode the Comstock Lode like the Colossus of Rhodes with as much brass in his belly as any statue," can be said in a different context about Clair William Walter Engle. In 1934, at age twenty-three, he became the youngest district attorney in California. Nine years later, Republican divisiveness enabled Engle, a Democrat, to win a special election to Congress from the state's sprawling Second District. He compiled an impressive record by being returned to Congress seven consecutive times, six of these in the primary election when California still practiced cross-filing. Sensing opportunity in the Republicans' bitter internecine struggle of 1957-1958, he sought and won a seat in the United States Senate, where the prospects of a distinguished, truly national career were beginning to be realized when he succumbed to an inoperable malignancy on July 30, 1964. He seems likely to remain the outstanding political figure produced by the "cow counties" of the north and northeastern portions of California.

Engle was a tough, savvy politician. Dubbed "Congressman Fireball" by admiring colleagues, he was a human dynamo, an authentic political animal, and an extraordinarily effective legislator. His pragmatism and sensitivity toward public opinion enabled him to develop from a rural, conservative Democratic opponent of New Deal bureaucracy in the 1940's to an urban-conscious, pro-civil rights liberal twenty years later. His record indicated a strong attachment toward the "little man," a term he applied to small farmers and ranchers, miners, lumbermen, and businessmen burdened by governmental bureaucracy and privileged economic interests. Buck-passing bureaucrats were often stung by rapier-like "Engleisms," colorful rural colloquialisms that were part of his pioneer heritage. Time has blurred Engle's significance among contemporary Californians, but within this hard-working, flamboyant individualist lay potential for greatness.

For two decades (1943-1964) Engle stood as a major force in California and western regional politics. As ranking Democrat and chairman of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs during the fifties, he placed his brand on all natural resource development legislation. Attracted to centers of power in the House cloakroom, he built strong political and personal ties to southern delegations, particularly the Texans, a factor both in his rapid rise in the leadership establishment and in his rich, metaphoric language. The aging Speaker of the

House, Sam Rayburn of Texas, came to see the ambitious Californian as his successor at the apex of congressional power.¹

Engle's greatest legislative achievement was the expansion of California's irrigation and flood control system. He wrote every major legislative addition to the great Central Valley Project, including Folsom Dam on the American River, Sly Park Dam in the Sierra Nevada foothills, San Luis unit in western San Joaquin Valley, and Trinity River Division in northwestern California. His two-volume *Central Valley Project Documents*, published in 1956 and 1957, remains the definitive source on the project's legislative history and construction.

Engle's name became synonymous with federal public power production in the West. He led the fight against the Eisenhower administration's "partnership" program, which was designed to lessen federal involvement in resource development in favor of local and private developers. His long battle with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, a private utility monopoly in north-central California, over control of power facilities of the Trinity River Division is a classic study of the "partnership" controversy. He denounced the program as a massive "give-away" to private corporations that undermined a half-century of reclamation law. Ironically, a similar criticism was made against the controversial "Engle formula" as included in the 1956 Small Reclamations Act. Engle had intended to ease the 160-acre limitation on water distributed to private land by small local reclamation projects, but his formula came under severe attack as a boon to land monopolists that undermined reclamation law established in the 1902 Newlands Act.²

During the fifties Engle became a major participant in the struggle to establish the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the statehood of Alaska and Hawaii. His 1952 Saline Water Act pioneered federal research in the conversion of sea water into fresh water, and his 1958 Military Withdrawal Act corrected military abuse of conservation law. Engle's legislation also created the Point Reyes National Seashore in Marin County as a means to preserve the California coastline from irresponsible development. He also led a fifteen-year fight to establish a federal intertie system to transfer excess electrical power across eleven western states, a system linking the Columbia River dams to Southern California and Hoover Dam on the Colorado River. Although he had objected to provisions allowing the Pacific Gas and Electric Company to build the transmission lines into the Central Valley, the program became law a month after his death.

Sometimes seen as a member of the so-called "California conspiracy" on the Colorado River water flow controversy,³ Engle bucked his party and congressional leadership in 1952 to organize the defeat of the Central Arizona project. However, his sectionalism was never so rigid as to oppose blindly all multipurpose projects not directly related to California needs. In 1954, for instance, he braved Southern California's wrath by voting for the small Fryingpan-Arkansas project in Colorado, and he also provided generous support for the Upper Colorado Basin project and the Missouri River Basin project.

Engle zealously guarded local and state water rights against the usurping designs of such federal agencies as the Bureau of Reclamation. He opposed the attempt by the federal installation at Camp Pendleton to take away water rights from ranchers along the Santa Margarita River. In relation to his 1950 Sacra-

mento Valley Canals Act which placed a quarter-million acres in the northern Sacramento Valley under irrigation, he prepared Northern California's water rights defense by urging the creation of a great number of water districts to demonstrate local water usage capacity. This was to conform with the 1931 Counties of Origin law, which provided that only excess water be transferred to the San Joaquin Valley.

Just as Engle's career was filled with accomplishments that aided in expanding California's postwar economy, helped to promote the development of strategic minerals and a national mining policy, and increased trade with the Far East (a major objective of his senate term), his year-long illness and death in the last year of his Senate term held momentous implications for national and state politics. On June 10, 1964, only weeks from death, he cast a needed vote to impose cloture on the historic civil rights filibuster in the Senate, and nine days later he voted for the landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act itself. Earlier, when it had become apparent that he could not stand for reelection, Engle's seat became the prize of a long-standing intra-party power struggle between Governor Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown, Assembly Speaker Jesse M. ("Big Daddy") Unruh, and their respective senatorial candidates. The consequences of this struggle disastrously weakened party unity and led to the loss of his seat to the Republicans in the general election. Democratic disunity in 1964 set the stage for Republican ascendancy in the years 1966-1974.

That Engle accomplished so much in his short life did not surprise those who had observed his scramble up the political ladder. His early career illuminates the nature of depression and war politics in the northern portion of California in which his political stance mirrored the area's political environment. If Engle had periodically demonstrated opportunism and myopic vision, he nonetheless responded to changing political realities in order to consolidate his power base. Eventually his capacity for growth and progressive leadership emerged. For all of his ambition, there were limits to his power drive beyond which he would not venture; he conducted himself in political office so scrupulously that he died after thirty years of public service without a blemish on his integrity.

Born in Bakersfield on September 21, 1911, Clair Engle was the second of the three sons of Fred Jewell Engle and his wife, the former Carita Alta Keeran. His father's sister Clara assisted in his delivery and his first given name was an adaptation of her's,⁴ a matter that often taunted him with its intimation of femininity. Fred Engle had experienced a series of failures as a schoolteacher, attorney, and cattle rancher, and, in 1913, with Clair still an infant, his father gave in to Mrs. Engle's pressure and agreed to move north to be near her family in the Battle Creek Bottom area of southeastern Shasta County. The Bottom's residents were then beginning a seven-year water rights litigation, first with the Northern California Power Company, Consolidated, and then with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, which compelled Engle to "work out" to meet legal expenses. Violence directed towards power company property and employees punctuated this litigation, including a tense scene in which the elder Engle drove trespassing company officials off his pasture with a rifle. In April, 1920, Engle and his neighbors obtained a handsome settlement, but his son never forgave the power companies for interfering with his home.⁵

Engle had earlier settled his family in Gerber, Tehama County, where he worked in the Southern Pacific yard. In July, 1922, however, the family was again on the move as a result of a nationwide railway strike, and they settled on a small dairy ranch in the nearby Los Robles district.⁶ At this time Engle's natural political instincts became noticeable. Local residents remember him as a cocky, brawling boy and as a natural-born leader.⁷ Combining his father's love of history and his mother's need for attention,⁸ he developed a duality of interests that fed his desire for personal glory and power. The first of these was a concern for politics because, he said, his father "was always puttin' Daniel Webster and Henry Clay and such up to me."⁹ The second was a fascination with the exploits of Napoleon and Alexander the Great that led him to seek an appointment to West Point.¹⁰ Engle's wish to be acknowledged was most evident in his relationships with those outside his family. He made it his business to know every boy and girl around, and he forced his presence upon older, high school boys as a device for increasing his prestige among his peers. No record exists of his having strong youthful opinions on any issue, except that he always championed the underdog. He always sought, however, to paper over differences, make a joke, and leave everyone laughing.¹¹

Engle's combative, competitive, and leadership qualities were amply demonstrated in his high school political career. The Red Bluff Union High School campus, he noted, was divided into social cliques which pitted rural and town students, roughly equal in number, against each other on the premise that the rural students were less educated, and therefore less intelligent, than those who had attended the modern elementary school in Red Bluff.¹² Student government was controlled by senior and town students, and Engle immediately set out to upset this political status quo. His campaign for student body president provided a blueprint for his future political campaigns, blending elements of luck, shrewd insight into public opinion, careful and detailed political planning, tight campaign organization, and direct contact with his constituency.

Engle became highly visible in school activities, especially in the student newspaper, dramatics, sports, and dances, and he used lesser student offices as stepping-stones to the presidency. A term on the student council led him to conclude that student government was too amenable to the opinions of faculty advisors.¹³ His naked passion to become student body president split student and faculty opinion.¹⁴ Late in his junior year, a committee named Engle and a talented and popular Red Bluff coed as candidates for the presidency. While his opponent conducted the school's traditional subdued campaign, he shocked students and faculty alike by openly seeking votes. His supporters saturated the campus with posters and distributed campaign cards to every student. Engle made these cards himself with a hand press he had learned to operate in a local newspaper plant.¹⁵ He won easily, prompting a faculty observer to remark, "It was personality and aggressiveness that won for [Engle]—a real politician even then."¹⁶

Engle distinguished himself as a knowledgeable parliamentarian and as a headstrong, activist student leader. His earthy speech, dotted with rural colloquialisms, did not sit well with the faculty, and this disenchantment came to a head when he sought reelection in January, 1928. The nominating committee ignored Engle's expression of availability for reelection and nominated two Red Bluff seniors. He quickly organized his coterie of supporters to collect signatures to place his



SPIC---"Let's Two-Term Him"
SPAN---"Sure, One Good Term
Deserves Another"

"I do ~~not~~ Choose
to Run in 1928"

For President
Student Body

Clair Engle

Engle "learned how to campaign in high school,"¹⁹ and in 1928 he printed campaign cards on a hand press to secure reelection as student body president.

name on the ballot as a third candidate. In another campaign blitz, full of the razzle-dazzle of his first campaign, Engle consolidated his power base among rural students. Arguing aggressively for less faculty interference in student affairs, he won over a divided town-student opposition and served as president until his graduation in June, 1928.¹⁷

Engle's high school years were crucial to his political development, and he remarked later that "he had learned how to campaign in high school."¹⁸ His 1928 yearbook predicted satirically that he would be "running on the Socialist ticket for the presidency of the United States."²⁰ Engle was strongly oriented toward public service, and politics seemed to be a convenient avenue to this end, now that his youthful interest in the military had waned. He had acquainted himself with the children of important political, civic, and social leaders in Tehama County, and through them he became acquainted with the county's power elite. Politics seemed to provide Engle with a means of establishing his identity.

Engle enrolled at Chico Junior College on the campus of Chico State Teacher's College in September, 1928. Although barely seventeen years old, he had already decided to become an attorney in order to have the basis for seeking the Tehama County district attorneyship in the 1934 elections.²¹ His exuberant personality won him many new friends, but he made his most significant friendship with Charles Edson Caldwell, a transfer student from Humboldt State College who found in young Engle a self-confidence and self-knowledge that he was only beginning to acquire for himself. Caldwell's boyhood had been dominated by his parents, whose stern, anti-intellectual, and fundamentalist Christianity had induced in him a palpable terror of God's righteous anger. This early conditioning and his struggle to overcome its more stifling aspects may explain why Caldwell found a life's work as a counsellor to and teacher of young people.²²

Engle and Caldwell are best remembered as campus religious radicals, strait-laced in their personal habits, contemptuous of alcohol and cigarettes, and active in the religious life of the campus and community. Their public speaking skills were honed by preaching to rural and local congregations and by their participation in the Debating Club, where they never lost a debate. A much more subtle and reflective thinker than Engle, Caldwell was disturbed by his friend's attraction to powerful men, and he reminded Engle that strong historical figures without firm moral standards brought destruction not only to the world, but also to themselves.²³ They would remain fast friends long after their college days.

In mid-August, 1930, Engle registered for classes at Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco. For the first time in his life he was alone. He did not eat well; his complexion became pallid, and he accepted free meals whenever possible. Engle

financed his studies through loans from his father and by taking any work available in the downtown area. "The people that pen the virtue of earning your bread 'by the sweat of your brow,' " he wrote, "are not usually the ones that do it."²⁴ He eventually obtained a position as a clerk in a law firm, about which he had mixed feelings. Although the position provided practical experience and the flavor of working in a law office, Engle never rid himself of the notion that he was being exploited. "Men on top incline to keep the other fellow down so they can benefit by his labor," he wrote. "I intend to keep that from happening to me."²⁵

Engle made few close friends at Hastings. An exception was Stanley Pugh of Red Bluff. His father, Fred Custer Pugh, had once done some legal work for Engle's father and had recently retired as Tehama County district attorney. Both students became friendly with fellow student Glen Sheldon, a San Francisco chiropractor who invited his more intelligent classmates to his apartment to study and have dinner prepared by his wife, Hazel. A native of Chattanooga, Tennessee, Hazel Burney Sheldon was nearly twelve years Engle's senior. She had moved to Vancouver, British Columbia, with her parents at an early age. Hazel looked remarkably like Engle's mother; she was attractive, soft-voiced, and romantic (quite unlike Carita Engle), but her shrewd business sense was overshadowed by her deeply introverted personality. Engle had virtually no experience with women, but he found himself attracted to her. What part, if any, he played in the Sheldon's subsequent divorce is unclear. Hazel received a modest settlement²⁶ and moved into an apartment with a spinster friend and later rented Engle a bedroom. In the following months he ardently wooed her, even reading her Napoleon's love letters to Josephine. Clair Engle and Hazel Sheldon were married in San Francisco on January 12, 1933, although their wedding was kept secret for several months in order to continue receiving money from his parents. Engle graduated from Hastings in May, 1933, and returned to Los Robles to inform his family that he had married. His parents were shocked. Even his grandmother chided his rash action, but Engle sought to reassure her, writing that there was a "standing offer" for her to meet Hazel, who "wants to cook a special dinner in your honor."²⁷ During the summer Engle prepared himself for the grueling bar exams in September. It was several months before the results were made known, but Engle's anxious waiting was brightened when Hazel gave birth to their daughter, Yvonne Lorraine, in mid-October. A month later he was admitted to the California bar.

A few days later Engle left his family and took a train to Red Bluff to find a home, open a law office, and run for district attorney in 1934. He was twenty-two years old, just over five-feet seven-inches tall with blue-grey eyes and dark-brown hair combed straight back to make him appear taller. Rimless glasses added age to his boyish appearance. He was slightly overweight, but there was a jaunty, confident air about him as he stepped from the train onto the sidewalk, and he walked with swinging arms, eyes straight ahead, and head thrust forward. All that had preceded this arrival was mere preparation for the inauguration of what was to be Clair Engle's meteoric political career.

Tehama County politics in the early thirties reflected its economic interests, namely farming, sheep, cattle, orchards, and related enterprises. Republican politics and high tariffs were well-received in the area. County politics was basically club politics, strongly influenced by social cliques and sectional feeling. This was

especially evident in the county seat, Red Bluff, which reflected its social and economic groupings even in the cliques on the high school campus. The 600 block on Main Street was the core of the town's economic base, and many of its businessmen served in city and county political office. Most notable of these merchant-politicians was Daniel Jack Metzger, a wheeling-dealing promoter and town booster, who was a force to be reckoned with in county politics. Strong service and fraternal organizational rivalries also existed between Red Bluff and Corning, a small community serving the south-central portions of the county.

Of crucial importance to any political neophyte was the legal and political rivalry between two Red Bluff attorneys, Fred Pugh and Curtiss E. Wetter, neighbors and conservative Republicans. This rivalry was a critical factor in the race for county coroner and district attorney. Then in his late fifties, Pugh had earlier distinguished himself as prosecuting attorney of Spokane County, Washington, where he prosecuted the famous I.W.W. "free speech" trials, participated in a three-man commission to revamp the state's criminal code, and investigated a locally explosive bribery scandal. His health having failed him, Pugh moved to Tehama County in 1911 and served two terms as district attorney during the 1920's. He had hired young Curtiss Wetter, just out of law school, as his assistant, but irreconcilable differences between the two men led to the latter's resignation. Wetter later became Red Bluff city attorney, senior partner in Wetter & Rankin, and a member of the "Presbyterian aristocracy" which had dominated Red Bluff's political and economic affairs for decades. He was chairman of the Tehama County Republicans and would soon become chairman of the northern division of the Second Congressional District Republican Central Committee. He was gregarious and charming, as well as tough, proud, and jealous of his position in local affairs, so that his successful career was also marked by personal and political feuds.²⁸

The significance of the Pugh-Wetter rivalry in county politics was not lost on young Clair Engle. While still in high school he had idolized Curt Wetter, who had risen from humble beginnings in Corning to become one of the county's best attorneys. Engle had often visited Wetter's office on Walnut Street and declared that he was going to become a lawyer himself.²⁹ However, through Stanley Pugh Engle had become acquainted with Fred Pugh, who had retired from active county politics. Thus, in late November, 1933, when Engle entered Pugh's office on the 600 block of Main Street to seek advice, he had made his first major decision affecting his future in Tehama County politics.

Pugh advised the aspiring attorney to open his office in Corning in order to avoid competing with more established attorneys.³⁰ Judging from the headlines of the influential *Corning Observer*, a daily Democratic newspaper published by Buena Maud Harper, the area seemed on the verge of a major oil boom. Best of all, Corning's single attorney, aging Edward L. Randall, represented the business and political leaders of the area, and Engle could make a good living from those unable to pay Randall's high fees. Engle, deciding that Pugh's counsel made good sense, opened an office in the Bank of Corning's building and established his family in a South Street home near the Methodist Church.

Engle's practice developed slowly, and he spent much of his time in Red Bluff talking with the courthouse politicians. He was particularly attentive to the ailing

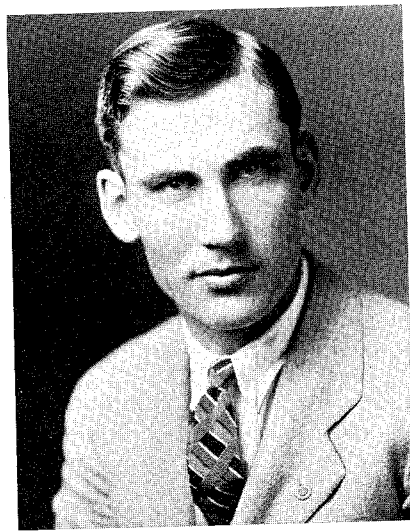
district attorney Marion J. Cheatham, a popular politician who remained independent of both the Pugh and Wetter factions. Engle participated in the prosecution of several cases, while at the same time he plotted his campaign for district attorney with his old friend, Edson Caldwell, currently working part-time in Red Bluff, and Francis William ("Red") Mosher, Jr., news editor of the *Corning Observer*. Using Hazel's divorce settlement,³¹ they carefully arranged their newspaper advertising campaign. Caldwell was impressed with Engle's meticulous attention to detail, although he worried about his youth and inexperience as a trial attorney. Engle was certain, however, that his visibility as Cheatham's assistant and his status as a native son would compensate for his disadvantages. Tehama County tended to favor politicians with well-established local roots.

Red Mosher provided the data that went into these strategy sessions. He was a tall, strait-laced Methodist, bachelor, and a Republican. Since Engle was considered by some to be an outsider in Corning, Mosher acted as his eyes and ears and reported all the political gossip to him every evening. The jealousy of Edward Randall, Corning's senior lawyer, made it impossible for Engle to join the Rotary Club. However, Mosher was not only a Rotarian, but also a member of the fire department, Masons, golf club, sportsman's club, and the Tehama Lions Club. In exchange for Mosher's information, Engle provided him with political news from the county courthouse and reports on the status of current prosecutions, all of which found its way into the *Corning Observer*.³²

Early in 1934 it became apparent that Cheatham's chronic heart condition would block his bid for reelection as district attorney. Soon declaring their candidacies were Richel Clyde Colombe and Marvin Jack Rankin, who was Curt Wetter's law partner. His declaration came as no surprise to Engle, who had earlier hoped to retain the good will of both Pugh and Wetter for his campaign and banked on his friendship to secure Wetter's endorsement. Wetter flatly refused and attempted to dissuade him from running. Surprised, Engle angrily declared that he was barely making a living as an attorney and that it was a matter of survival for him to win the election. It was clear to him then that Jack Rankin would become a candidate, and Engle never forgot Wetter's rebuff.³³ Rankin's entry into the district attorney sweepstakes moved Fred Pugh, Wetter's long-time rival, to act as Engle's unofficial campaign advisor. "Look," Wetter later told Pugh, "Clair would stab his own mother to get ahead."³⁴

In mid-May Mosher arranged a meeting between Engle and Buena Maud Harper to obtain her editorial support. Harper, then in her mid-fifties and widowed, was a confidant of Corning's founder and leading citizen, Warren N. Woodson, an influential Democratic party leader. While thoroughly charmed by Engle's dynamic personality, she refused to commit her newspaper to his campaign for fear of losing advertising from opposition candidates. She promised, however, to print all of Engle's campaign literature at minimum cost and to back his candidacy fully behind the scenes.³⁵ Harper and Woodson shared a desire to break the grip of Red Bluff lawyers on the district attorney's office, and their support of Engle's candidacy was thus another manifestation of the Corning-Red Bluff rivalry.

With this commitment Engle opened his campaign. Tehama County had never before seen a political campaign as thorough, methodical, and aggressive



In his 1934 campaign for Tehama County D.A., Engle won support from Buena Maude Harper (left), influential publisher of the Democratic Corning Observer. Attorney Curt Wetter (above) dominated the Republican Central Committee, and his growing antagonism with Engle helped push Engle to become a Democrat by 1936.

as the one Engle waged in 1934. He visited every community and farm center in the county, and shook every hand he could reach. There were not two or three people together to whom he did not give a speech. He was masterful on a person-to-person level and superb during farm center and candidate night meetings. Engle never tired of pointing out that Colombe and Rankin were newcomers to the county while he had lived most of his life in the area. His greatest campaign weakness lay in communicating with women voters, and Hazel made her few appearances with him before women's groups. It was a handicap he was never really to overcome, and many female politicians thought that he "was just plain anti-women."³⁶

In Red Bluff a sensitive Curtiss Wetter flushed over reports that Engle's barbs were directed more at him than Rankin. After a meeting held in the Idyllwild Dance Hall north of Los Molinos, Engle indicated this growing antagonism toward Wetter. "You know," he carelessly remarked, "I could beat that Rankin easy if that sonuvabitch Wetter would lay off me." Wetter demanded an apology, but Engle replied that he had not meant anything personal by that remark. Wetter, however, took the matter personally and retorted, "I won't ever forget it."³⁷

On August 28, 1934, the campaign concluded with Engle showing great strength in southern and central Tehama County, Rankin doing well in the northern portion, and Colombe running a very poor third. Engle, however, failed to obtain a majority and had to face Rankin in the November general election. Both candidates made much of their respective positions in the Pugh-Wetter factionalism. Rankin insinuated that his opponent was a tool of "political bossism," while Engle responded that he, unlike Rankin, had no obligations to any

other county attorney. Furthermore, Engle devastated Rankin with the slogan, "A Tehama County Son for a Tehama County Office."³⁸ In November, Engle scored an impressive victory, and the voting pattern indicated that he was strong everywhere in the county except the city of Red Bluff. Engle thus became "the baby-faced D. A.," the youngest district attorney in California.

The mid-1930's became a critical period in Engle's political development, as he made his plunge into partisan politics. Shortly after settling in Corning, he had registered as a Republican, although this act represented no deep personal commitment upon his part. Indeed, in the recent campaign he had unabashedly tied himself to President Roosevelt with the ingenious slogan, "Roosevelt Prefers Men Who are Young."³⁹ Engle also had told Mosher of his belief that as a Democrat he would have a better chance to become a county judge. Mosher was frankly dubious about that, although he continued to take Engle to Republican central committee meetings for two years, but finally told him to make up his mind.⁴⁰

Engle's indecision was one indication of how the political scene in Tehama County reflected the transitional period in state politics during which the Republicans were losing power and the Democrats were becoming the dominant political force. A skeleton Democratic party organization had survived in Northern California during the Republican sweeps of the 1920's largely through the efforts of Judge Francis Carr of Redding, who had represented the power companies in the water rights litigation against Engle's father and neighbors in Battle Creek Bottom. Carr supported conservative Democratic Senator William G. McAdoo and acted as broker for New Deal patronage; Engle later credited the judge as a founder of the Central Valley Project.⁴¹

In spite of Judge Carr's efforts, the Democratic party structure was very weak in Tehama County. The central committee was dominated by old men and special interests who were loathe to bring in new blood. These "old bulls" refused to placate the vocal minority of liberal Democrats championing Upton Sinclair's gubernatorial candidacy, and Buena Maud Harper and John G. Miller, conservative Democratic editor of the *Red Bluff Daily News*, openly collaborated with Fred Pugh to bring Democrats into the Republican fold. The angry liberals bolted the regular organization and did not return until the Democrats took over the statehouse in 1938.

Probably early in 1936 Engle became a Democrat.⁴² With Wetter dominating the Republican central committee, there was little chance for Engle to advance rapidly through its ranks. In contrast, the local Democratic organization was dominated by aging men who had no personal political ambitions. Engle carefully built strong ties to these party leaders; namely, John G. Miller, whom he had known since high school days, old "Daddy" Woodson in Corning, and Arthur Lee Conard, a Red Bluff hotel operator who was an authority on Northern California water problems. All three Democrats favored dam construction on the Sacramento River in northern Tehama County in order to develop Red Bluff, a position which Engle, much to his later sorrow, adopted. Engle's interest in water problems can be traced to these men and to the Sacramento River's devastation of Gerber in the flood of 1937. As attorney and secretary of the Northern California Water Control Association, he became an expert on problems relating to the Sacramento River.

In spring, 1935, Army Reserve Second Lieutenant Edmund M. Moor arrived in the county with the Civilian Conservation Corps and had some effect upon county politics. A San Francisco attorney, Moor consulted with Curtiss Wetter and opened a law office in Corning.⁴³ This action precipitated Engle's decision to move to Red Bluff for convenience in performing his official duties. To ascertain possible resentment in Corning, he talked the matter over with Mosher and Harper, both of whom pledged continued support for his political career.⁴⁴

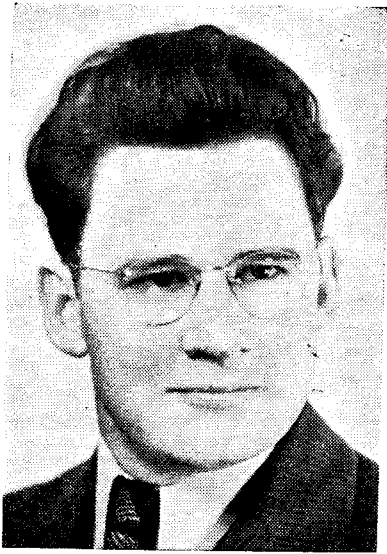
The Engles, however, were not to become part of Red Bluff's socially-elect group. Society tended to look down upon Engle as a "poison oaker" from Battle Creek Bottom, and Hazel's aloof personality, shyness in fact, did nothing to improve their social standing. The circumstances of their marriage and the disparity in their ages provided grist for the gossip mill.⁴⁵ They entertained only infrequently, usually with the Pughs, Edson and Ruth Caldwell, Red Mosher, and personal friends from Los Robles. Engle's devotion to his office and career often kept him away from home late at night and impinged on his family life.

In 1938, Ed Moor had hopes of unseating Engle as district attorney. Moor had become close friends with Red Mosher and worked in many Republican endeavors. The challenge received a setback even before the campaign began, however, when he was appointed to defend a young thug against a murder charge. Engle's electrifying prosecution sent Moor's client to the gas chamber. Engle studiously ignored Moor's pressing attack during the ensuing campaign. "When running a race," he laughed, "don't take time to kick a dog yapping at your heels."⁴⁶ Disappointed by Mosher's and Harper's neutrality, Engle nevertheless won every precinct in the county except for an evenly-split Corning precinct. The two politicians subsequently became close friends and supported each other for political office for the next twenty years.

Engle's term as "the flying D. A.," a reference to his recent interest in aviation, proved to be of great future political benefit. So did his strong popular stand against the Jehovah's Witnesses for urging their children not to salute the flag in school. Engle's prestige soared in June, 1940, when Attorney General Earl Warren, a long-time friend,⁴⁷ appointed him to prosecute a blood-feud killing in Weaverville. His investigation led to a direct confrontation with several angry Trinity County mountain men who did not like having outsiders meddle in their affairs. Engle eventually obtained a manslaughter conviction, and the legislature appropriated \$2,000 for his efforts.⁴⁸

Engle's most important and heart-breaking prosecution involved a Christmas Eve, 1940, fatal hit-and-run incident north of Red Bluff. An investigation determined that the automobile involved belonged to Fred ("Ted") Pugh, Jr., a close friend of Engle and namesake of his political benefactor. After talking with Ed Moor, Engle asked Earl Warren to bring in a special prosecutor. To his astonishment, Warren absolutely refused. "If you want to go any place [in politics]," Warren said, "you have to put your personal feelings aside."⁴⁹ Warren's refusal stunned Hazel, and she begged her husband not to prosecute one of their closest friends. She never forgave Warren for compelling Engle to prosecute young Pugh.⁵⁰

The elder Pugh was outraged by what he considered to be a betrayal of their friendship. The defense team Pugh organized for his son even included Pugh's old



RE-ELECT
Clair Engle
DISTRICT ATTORNEY

One Good Term Deserves Another

REARCLIFFE OFFICE PRINT, RED BLUFF



Judge Francis Carr (above) of Redding kept alive a skeleton Democratic party organization in Northern California during the 1920's. In 1938 Carr's quiet support helped Engle win a second term as county D.A. (left). The two men later parted company over the issue of dam construction on the Sacramento River.

rival, Curtiss Wetter. Engle seemed subdued during the trial, and a trial witness noted that "Clair just didn't have the heart to tear into Fred."⁵¹ Ted Pugh was acquitted, and his brother, Stanley, later wrote that the trial caused a permanent break between their father and Engle. Fred Pugh "never forgave the young D. A. for what he considered to be an act of expediency and never again during his remaining years did he speak to or communicate with him again."⁵²

Engle's prominence in local Democratic politics had won the attention of Judge Carr, who had quietly urged his contacts to push his campaign in 1938.⁵³ Late in 1938, however, Engle opposed Carr's candidate for a seat on the California Highway Commission in favor of a Red Bluff Democrat whose appointment, Engle wrote, "would give life to the Democratic organization in this county."⁵⁴ Engle had risen rapidly through party ranks under Buena Maud Harper's sponsorship, and he had helped to organize the Tehama County Democratic Club in order to coordinate all party activities and to lure back the dissident liberals. In summer, 1940, he became party chairman for Democrats in the Third Assembly District, which broadened his contacts into Yolo, Colusa, and Glenn counties. In September, 1940, he also became chairman of the Tehama County Democrats.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, came at a most inopportune moment for Engle's political calculations. His timetable had been established and did not allow for a hitch in the military. The disaster also aroused dormant West Coast anti-Oriental prejudice and led to the forced evacuation of

Japanese *Issei* and *Nisei* to relocation centers in the continental interior. Engle strongly endorsed this War Department policy and also worked in the local effort to collect hunting knives to "Stab-a-Jap" in the South Pacific. His harsh attitude is understandable in terms of the existing political climate, but he did not share local anti-Oriental prejudice. For example, the Engle family was close friends with Red Bluff's Chinese community, then consisting of the Chew Yuen family. Moreover, in 1939 Engle expressed no strong opinions on the marriage of Hazel's sister Kathleen to a wealthy Japanese national in Vancouver. Any possible political embarrassment had been averted upon his brother-in-law's death in 1940.⁵⁵

Complicating Engle's political life were two changes in newspaper management. First, John G. Miller sold his Red Bluff newspaper to conservative Democrat Fred W. McKechnie, Jr., lately from Reno, Nevada. "Mac" hit it off with the young district attorney and sympathized with his difficulties with Curtiss Wetter. Wetter was always embroiled in a feud with someone, and McKechnie reserved many acerbic remarks for him and the "Presbyterian aristocracy" that he thought Wetter symbolized.⁵⁶ Second, in June, 1941, Buena Maud Harper married C. P. Button, a Republican newspaper publisher from Tracy, California. Her marriage destroyed Red Mosher's hope of acquiring the *Corning Observer*. In 1938 Republican State Senator Daniel Jack Metzger had offered to finance his negotiations, but Mosher was not interested in using the paper as a propaganda vehicle for Senator Metzger. In an emotional scene, he informed Mrs. Harper-Button that he had decided to leave for a position with the *Tulelake Reporter*.⁵⁷ Mosher's departure was a personal and political blow to Engle, who was preparing a campaign to unseat Metzger in the 1942 elections.

Metzger had occupied Engle's attention for years, for he was the dominant political personality in the Eighth Senatorial District, composed of Colusa, Glenn, and Tehama counties. The state senator was in his mid-fifties, a veteran of matrimonial wars, and blessed with an electrifying personality. A flashy dresser with his white suits and shoes, gaudy rings, and colorful ties, he invariably campaigned in new Cadillacs and Buicks. He was closely associated with the powerful lobbyist, Arthur H. Samish, who had donated generously to Metzger's earlier reelection bid in 1938 against a political unknown.⁵⁸ Although he was popular and enjoyed a reputation for getting things done in Sacramento, Metzger suffered from a poverty of personal and political principles which had induced an undercurrent of cynicism among his constituency by 1942.

In 1942, Clair Engle's political antennae picked up rumblings of anti-Metzger sentiment throughout his district. In his committee chairmanships, Metzger had acted capriciously toward Samish's clients, and this relationship terminated when he attempted to room his bookkeeper, George Dryselt, with one of the lobbyist's assistants in a Sacramento hotel. When Samish heard about that, said Dryselt, "he bawled hell out of Metzger like he was a bus boy, . . . [and] that was the beginning of the end of Jack's political career."⁵⁹ The most punishing blow to Metzger's prestige, however, occurred in July, 1940, when he was dumped from his seat on the Red Bluff City Council by his colleagues who resented his prolonged absences and tendency to conduct public business in the back room of his Blue Ribbon Cafe on the 600 block of Main Street.

Two years later, Metzger filed to regain his former council seat, and leading

town citizens formed an anti-Metzger coalition. Behind this effort stood young Clair Engle who saw the election as a test to determine the amount of erosion into Metzger's political base. "If we can beat Metzger for the council," he declared, "I can beat him for the state senate." Engle "masterminded" the anti-Metzger forces and used his office as a campaign center.⁶⁰ For the first time in his career Metzger had been beaten, and Engle had all the encouragement he needed to run for the state senate.

On May 22, 1942, Engle declared his candidacy. Liberal Democratic Governor Culbert Olson's reelection effort was proving to be very weak, and such stalwart Democrats as McKechnie and Miller were supporting his opponent, Earl Warren. Engle, too, maintained his distance from Olson and wondered how much Olson's lagging campaign would hurt his own chances in the August primaries. Engle tried to associate himself with Warren's nonpartisan approach. Indeed, the Engle campaign was being financed from the \$2,000 he had received from Warren's office for the Weaverville murder trial.⁶¹ In early August a Tehama County group strongly linked to agricultural interests organized a nonpartisan "Engle for State Senator Committee." It praised Engle as an independent-minded Democrat who had "the friendship and confidence" of Earl Warren.⁶²

There were no substantive differences between the two candidates, and the race turned upon their personalities and campaign styles. Metzger depicted himself as a "statesman" working too hard in Sacramento to campaign actively. His sluggish campaign resulted from his failure to grasp the full impact of Engle's aggressive and nonpartisan approach. While Metzger remained complacent, Engle's disciplined organization went into action. Edson Caldwell drove up from Vallejo, where he taught in a junior high school, to follow Metzger about, hoping to catch an indiscreet remark, and found that the state senator was not taking his youthful challenger seriously. Jack Matteson, city editor of the *Red Bluff Daily News*, labored to prepare campaign releases and newspaper ads, and he marvelled at his candidate's campaign style. "In town after town," he wrote, "I would let Clair out of the car on the outskirts and with a handful of cards he would stop at every business establishment, and to customers and owners would pass the time of day and solicit their vote."⁶³ Observers began to notice that Jack Metzger, the master campaigner, was being out-campaigned.

On August 25, 1942, the primary election concluded with a smashing victory for Engle, who carried every county in both party primaries for a total vote of 5,850 to Metzger's 3,199.⁶⁴ Artie Samish later claimed that he had engineered Metzger's demise,⁶⁵ but it seemed clear that Metzger's political star was waning while Engle's was rising. Metzger exuded the aura of a tarnished and shallow politician, while Engle was perceived to be a clean, aggressive, sincere, and honest young man. Engle's adroit handling of the Olson albatross served to win over Republicans and conservative Democrats who were eager to find excuses for voting against Metzger. It was once again a combination of hard work, luck, and brilliant organization that made Engle the first Democrat to represent the Eighth Senatorial District.

Referring to Engle's term in the state senate, political analyst Edward H. Dickson declared that Engle "showed great promise of becoming an effective legislator with progressive leanings."⁶⁶ Engle saw the state legislature as subservient

to special interests at the expense of the people.⁶⁷ By the people, however, he did not include the evacuated Japanese, and he co-authored repressive legislation to plug loopholes in the 1913 California Alien Land Act and to deny off-shore fishing rights to the Japanese and other aliens ineligible for citizenship. He took an anti-bureaucratic stance against the National Park Service in which he backed Tehama County cattle ranchers in an effort to re-open the Lassen Volcanic National Park to livestock grazing. His most significant legislation, however, converted rural county fairgrounds into housing facilities for Mexican *braceros* brought into California to meet demands for cheap agricultural labor. This law did much to avert a major economic disaster in the state in 1943-1944.

Engle found himself restless in the state legislature and looked around for other political opportunities. He did not have long to wait. Back in Washington, D. C., Congressman Harry Lane Englebright, minority whip of the House, suddenly died on May 13, 1943, literally working himself to death during the war emergency. He had ably served the Second District for nearly seventeen years. This was the largest congressional district in the nation, except for the State of Nevada, and consisted of eighteen counties from the Oregon border south along the spine of the Sierra Nevada to within two hundred miles of Los Angeles. It contained agricultural, lumber, and mining interests, and its very size made it—and makes it—an incumbent's district. Not since 1920 has an incumbent congressman been denied reelection in the district.

Backstage maneuverings for the coming special election began even as Englebright's body was being returned to his birthplace in Nevada City, and local Republican leaders initiated a movement to propel the congressman's widow, Marie Grace Englebright, into the race. Then in her late fifties, the grief-stricken widow was under heavy pressure from House Minority Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr., to save the seat for the Republicans. Martin assured her that she could have her husband's committee assignments for the current session, and she took him at his word.⁶⁸

Meanwhile, State Senator Jesse M. Mayo of Angels Camp threw his hat into the political ring. He was a hard-working Republican legislator, and much of his backing came from the California Republican organization. The Englebright camp saw the hand of Governor Warren behind the Mayo boom, and political observer Richard Rodda agreed, "It's a safe bet that Governor Warren, the most powerful Republican in the state at the time, supported him."⁶⁹

The Democrats could hardly believe their good fortune. Assemblyman Alfred W. Robertson, chairman of the California Democratic Central Committee, ordered the county chairmen of the Second District to hold a caucus and unite behind a single candidate. He handed the assignment to Judge Carr, chairman of the Second Districts Democrats.⁷⁰ Carr wanted to field a candidate from the district's northern counties, and he called a meeting of the Democratic leaders of the seven northernmost counties for June 13 at the Golden Eagle Hotel in Redding. He also made arrangements to have a general meeting two weeks later of the entire Second District leadership in Roseville.

In addition to Engle, there were two candidates before the Redding caucus. The strongest possibility was State Senator Oliver J. Carter, whose father, Jesse W. Carter, was a member of the California supreme court. Senator Carter's

major problem, however, was the political and legal rivalry between his father and Judge Carr, which neutralized his advantage as a member of the Shasta County Democratic organization.⁷¹ District Attorney Edwin J. Regan of Weaverville also sought the nomination, but the scarce population and isolation of Trinity County were major problems for him. Regan was a protege of David Edward Ryan, whose respect for the late congressman turned the county into an Englebright stronghold, much to Judge Carr's disgust.⁷²

On Sunday afternoon, June 13, 1943, Democratic leaders from Tehama, Shasta, Trinity, and Plumas counties met in the Golden Eagle Hotel dining room while Judge Carr sat in the lobby to await their decision. The meeting was relaxed and informal, and none of the candidates seemed overwhelmingly eager for the nomination. With each member supporting his favorite son, the Plumas County delegate cast the deciding vote for Engle. Everyone then was called into the dining room to arrange a unanimous vote.⁷³ With this endorsement, the Roseville meeting on June 27 became a formality at which Engle secured a unanimous vote.⁷⁴

News of the Roseville decision excited Tehama County. It was the first time a Tehama County man had even a chance to represent the district since 1926, and it was a grand opportunity to elect a man with firsthand knowledge of problems relating to the Sacramento River, which was of major concern after the flooding of 1940-1941. A nonpartisan "Engle for Congress Committee" was set up, and on June 1, Engle formally declared his candidacy for the special election.

The campaign produced no clear-cut differences on issues among the candidates, but such apparent harmony should not disguise the significance of the special election as an indicator of postwar political trends. The election reflected national disenchantment with bureaucratic government, the drift from isolationism to internationalism, and popular acceptance of President Roosevelt's war policies. There were also rumors that Engle received heavy financial support from the Democratic National Committee which, if true, probably came through Judge Carr.⁷⁵

The special election was the first test of California opinion upon the possible return of the Japanese evacuees to their homes, and the early indications were not reassuring. Virulent anti-Japanese prejudice in the mountain counties was exacerbated by the construction of relocation centers at Tule Lake and Manzanar, and each candidate vied for this sentiment. Engle opposed the return of Japanese-Americans to the West Coast during the war and the return of Japanese aliens after the war. "It is useless to win this war," he said, "if we lose biologically in California as it already has happened in Hawaii."⁷⁶ Bold words indeed for a man whose late brother-in-law had been a Japanese alien; but this relationship was not discussed during the campaign.

The most important aspect of this election was organized labor's unprecedented political action campaign. Most A.F.L. and C.I.O. support went to Engle. Campaign workers from the Sacramento office of the Woodworker's Union and the International Longshoreman's Union (both C.I.O.), launched an all-out effort on Engle's behalf in mountain communities.⁷⁷ Engle's association with labor nearly proved disastrous in the militantly anti-labor Sacramento Valley. Just before the election, thousands of anonymous postcards charged that he was a

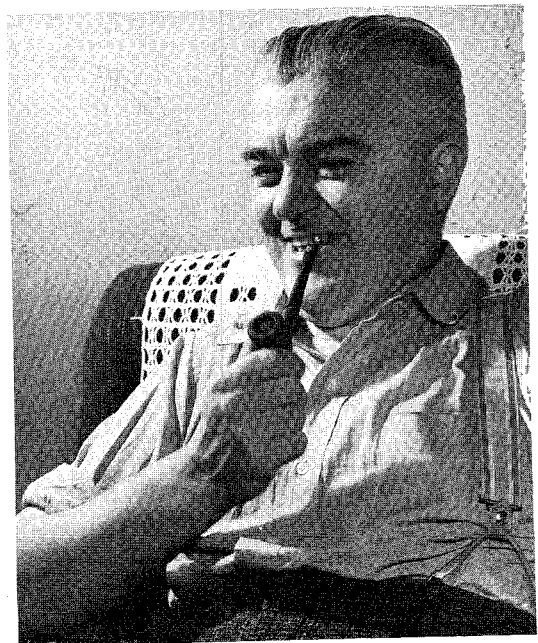
C.I.O. puppet. Fred McKechnie uncovered the plot and attributed it, without conclusive evidence, to Curtiss Wetter⁷⁸. This postcard flap concluded Engle's campaign on an uncertain and apprehensive note.

On August 31, 1943, less than forty per cent of the voters went to the polls, and a slight pro-Engle trend developed as the evening wore on. Although his opponents conceded defeat, Engle refrained from claiming victory until well into the following day. Democratic National Committee Chairman Frank S. Butler telephoned Judge Carr twice for the latest results. After talking with Carr in the afternoon, Engle finally claimed victory. He received 12,235 votes to Englebright's 10,312 and Mayo's 8,176.⁷⁹ The voting pattern bore out the district's traditional sectionalism, which always surfaced with the removal of an incumbent congressman. Although the victory was a morale booster for national Democrats, Engle never campaigned as a New Deal Democrat. He demonstrated little strength outside the northern section and won only because the Republicans divided their vote. He traveled alone to Washington, D. C., celebrating his birthday along the way, and was sworn in by House Speaker Sam Rayburn on September 23, 1943, at the Speaker's rostrum.

Realizing that his position on the political ladder was not yet secure, Engle prepared himself for reelection in the May, 1944, primary. His seat on the Committee on Mines was most helpful. It enabled him to secure funds for an iron survey, designed to provide a basis for West Coast steel development, and eighty per cent of California's iron ore lay in his district. He also introduced a bill to



Newspaper publisher Fred W. McKechnie, Jr. (below), a Red Bluff Democrat, supported Engle politically and personally in Engle's successful 1942 campaign for the state senate against incumbent Republican Daniel Jack Metzger (left, shown with wife Constance at Hollywood Park horse races).



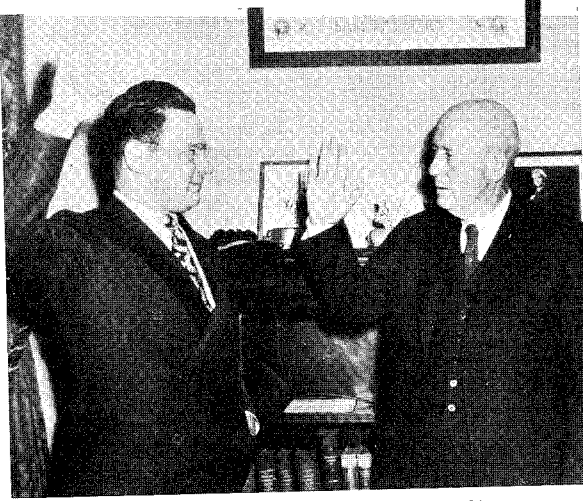
revoke the War Production Board's (W.P.B.) ban on gold mining in order to help the small miners, and, stretching a point, he later wrote that "it appears that the rumpus we are making has had a little effect as the W.P.B. is gradually lifting restrictions under L-208."⁸⁰ Engle also worked to bring a steel alloy plant to Redding, which no doubt pleased Judge Carr. In casting his votes in Congress Engle sought to prove that "I am no new dealer. In fact I have caught a lot of hell from the left wing democrats. . . . The road of the independent is hard."⁸¹

Engle continued his campaign against the evacuee resettlement program, and the disturbance at the Tule Lake relocation center in November, 1943, led to his call for military control over the facility. By 1944, he had become so pessimistic over the problem that he urged that the Japanese never again "be allowed to congregate in California. The feeling against them is so intense that I really believe it would be dangerous."⁸² His preoccupation with Tule Lake allowed his other projects to languish. "I got behind in a lot of things I want to do while fighting the W.R.A. [War Relocation Authority] and the Japs at Tule Lake," he wrote during Christmas, 1943. "I think I can do more good if I stay on the job back here and keep after some of these things."⁸³

Engle also kept in close touch with the political situation in his district. One Republican whose name kept coming up in his correspondence was State Senator Randolph Collier of Yreka, who was quietly lining up Republican support to challenge Engle. James K. Carr, son of Judge Carr and assistant regional manager of the Bureau of Reclamation in Sacramento, suggested that Engle place a power plant near the Klamath River ore-concentration plant. "The thought occurred to me," he wrote, "that if you were successful in getting that plant for the Yreka country you could create political havoc in 'Randy' Collier's back yard."⁸⁴ Engle replied that he would "put in a plug" for the plant.⁸⁵

This preoccupation with Collier proved unnecessary as the latter failed to unite district Republicans behind him and stepped aside in favor of Jesse Mayo in February, 1944. On March 2, 1944, Engle opened his reelection bid and filed in both Democratic and Republican primaries under the cross-filing provisions of the time. In speeches, he stressed his committee assignments and performance to date. He collaborated closely with Joseph P. Hall, publisher of the *California Mining Journal*, on political advertising, and Hall also sent in optimistic reports on his strength in each county, referring to Mayo as "Little Jess" and "the gutless wonder."⁸⁶ For his part, Engle depicted Mayo as the candidate of the large mining outfits and predicted that "if Mayo is elected the iron ore survey will probably be deadlier than a dodo."⁸⁷

Engle's campaign operated smoothly until early May when an issue arose that threatened to tear his political base apart. This was the decades-long struggle between Shasta and Tehama counties over dam construction on the Sacramento River at either Iron Canyon or Table Mountain. Engle had previously associated himself with Arthur Lee Conard's dream to construct a flood control dam north of Red Bluff, but Judge Carr and his organization thwarted all efforts at state and federal authorization. Such construction, Carr claimed, would destroy thousands of acres in the southern part of his county. This long festering dispute burst open when an omnibus flood control bill reached the House floor with a provision authorizing dam construction at Table Mountain. When alternative proposals



Engle won the right to represent the Second Congressional District, the largest in the nation excluding Nevada, in the special election of 1943. House Speaker Sam Rayburn (at right), who later became a political and personal friend, administered the oath of office.

were rejected, Engle found himself torn between the Conard and Carr positions, but his loyalty to Tehama County tilted him toward the former. He hoped to ease Shasta County's disappointment by specifying that the dam be low-level in order to minimize land destruction.⁸⁸

On May 9, Engle voted for the omnibus flood control bill and rushed home to meet the expected explosion. Upon his arrival in Red Bluff, he learned that Judge Carr was holding a meeting of the Shasta Democrats in his law office. He telephoned the meeting and pleaded for party loyalty and a chance to explain his vote. Carr was unmoved, and in an unprecedented action, the central committee withdrew its support from Engle and backed Jesse Mayo, who quickly expressed opposition to the Table Mountain Dam. Carr declared that the proposed dam would destroy his county, and he had word sent to neighboring counties asking that the local Democrats drop Engle.⁸⁹

On May 16, the primary election demonstrated that the Table Mountain controversy failed to grip voters elsewhere in the district. The Sacramento River was not of compelling importance to those counties not in direct contact with it. Engle had carefully directed his attention to the more urgent needs of other sections and thereby neutralized Mayo's constituency in the mountain counties. Additionally, his incumbent status inevitably worked in his favor. His overall strength was shown in his total of 30,140 votes to Mayo's 17,909, but he failed to capture the Republican nomination by a mere 1,224 votes, thus sending the race into the general election.⁹⁰

The primary election results made Engle more confident of his position in the Second District, and he also hoped that Shasta County's bitterness could be assuaged by the confirmation of a steel alloy plant near Redding.⁹¹ The Shasta picture changed overnight when Judge Carr died of a heart attack on August 21, 1944, and Engle later delivered a gracious tribute to the old Democratic warhorse on the House floor. A month later, the Shasta County Democratic Central Committee returned to the Engle camp without endorsing his stand on the Table Mountain Dam. With Mayo groping ineffectively in the mountain counties, the election concluded on November 7, and Engle won decisively with 48,201 votes to 27,312 votes.⁹² He captured every county except Alpine and Calaveras, and his political base in northern California was at last secure. At the age of thirty-three, he had become the dominant political force in the north state, a position he was to hold for twenty years. It was not long before the Second District became known as "Engle's Empire."

And thus began Clair Engle's fabulous career in state and national politics. His rise to political prominence was a self-learning process. He had realized his capacity for opportunism, ruthlessness, and narrowmindedness in the acquisition of power; but as his brief term in the state legislature hinted—and he demonstrated in Congress—he also exhibited a careful handling of public office, independence, and a capacity for growth that might have led to statesmanship. He was utilitarian in his approach to economic, moral, and social issues, and he saw himself as a compromiser, a broker of competing interests for the common good. His extraordinary political and legislative skills were developed and honed as he climbed the political ladder, and many friends thought that his future included a place on a national Democratic ticket in the 1970's.⁹³ These early years of political triumph, however, exacted a heavy price in familial relationships. Engle's horizons had exceeded Hazel's, and they would eventually divorce. He would then marry an attractive and talented politico, Lucretia Caldwell of San Jose, who would be a perfect complement to his ambitions. Yet, if at the end, Clair Engle had not achieved greatness, it was not that he was unprepared, but that fate had tragically struck him down at the height of his powers.

THE PHOTOGRAPH on page 301 (left) is courtesy Mrs. Buena King of Fort Lauderdale; on page 301 (right) Judge Curtiss C. Wetter of Red Bluff; on page 304 (right), Mr. Lawrence W. Carr of Redding; on page 309 (right), Robert McKechnie of Alameda; on page 309 (left), Mrs. Constance Metzger of Red Bluff; on page 311, San Francisco Public Library, Special Collections. All other material is in the possession of the author.

NOTES

1. Ted Heslip, Interview, July 10, 1972.
2. Paul S. Taylor, "The Excess Land Law: Legislative Erosion of Public Policy," *Rocky Mountain Law Review*, 30:499-506 (1958); Robert C. Fellmeth, *Power and Land in California: The Ralph Nader Task Force Report on Land Use in the State of California*. Vol. 1 (Washington, D. C. Center for the Study of Responsive Law, 1971), III:48-51.
3. Elmo Richardson, *Dams, Parks & Politics: Resource Development and Preservation in the Truman-Eisenhower Era* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1973), p. 147.
4. Fred and Carita Engle, "Our Baby," a memory book of Clair Engle, 1911-12.
5. Frank Paselk, Interview, August 29, 1972; G. R. Milford, Interview, November 17, 1972; George C. Simpson, Interview, June 29, 1972; Frances Brewer, Interview, June 29, 1972; Jesse D. Stockton to Stephen Sayles, June 25, 1972.
6. Tehama County, *Deeds*, Book 109, p. 90.
7. George J. Hofhenke, Interview, March 15, 1972; Mrs. C. A. Bonetti, Interview, May 19, 1972; Mrs. W. C. Bovee, Interview, May 19, 1972; Leone Andrews, Interview, April 20, 1972.
8. Mrs. Fred J. Engle, Jr., Interview, June 28, 1974; Yvonne Engle Childs, Interview, July 20, 1974; Jesse D. Stockton, Interview, July 28, 1972.
9. "New Faces," *The New Republic*, October 27, 1958, p. 10.
10. Paul F. Healy, "Wildcat in Washington," *The Saturday Evening Post*, March 12, 1955, p. 60; Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 19, 1972.
11. Emmitt J. Nickles, Interview, June 16, 1972; Charles H. Porter, Interview, July 19, 1972; James C. Bunting, Interview, April 13, 1972; Frances Brewer, Interview, June 29, 1972; George J. Hofhenke, Interview, March 15, 1972; Mrs. Fred J. Engle, Jr., Interview, December 27, 1973; D. Walter Bunting, Interview, May 8, 1972.
12. Lona Knedler, Interview, July 6, 1972; Constance Crowder Arrowsmith, Interview, June 29, 1972; Mr. and Mrs. Virgil Richelieu, Interview, June 19, 1972; Dr. Gene Maxey, Interview,

May 16, 1972, Milton Hull, Interview, June 5, 1972, Mr and Mrs Henry Foster, Interview, September 23, 1972; Phoebe P. Zerbe to Sayles, August 24, 1972.

13. Dr. Charles Edson Caldwell, Interview, June 10, 1972; Constance Crowder Arrowsmith, Interview, June 29, 1972.

14. Phoebe P. Zerbe to Sayles, August 24, 1972; R. R. Hartzell to Sayles, June 7, 1972; Ruth Gordon to Sayles, July 17, 1972.

15. Phoebe P. Zerbe to Sayles, August 24, 1972.

16. Ruth Gordon to Sayles, July 17, 1972.

17. Lona Knedler, Interview, July 6, 1972; Dr. Charles Edson Caldwell, Interview, January 8, 1974; June 10, 1972; John R. Bunting to Sayles, August 11, 1972; August 15, 1972; John H. Hill to Sayles, August 11, 1972; Ruth Gordon to Sayles, July 17, 1972; *The Bluffer*, January 25, 1928.

18. R. R. Hartzell to Sayles, June 17, 1972.

19. Healy, "Wildcat in Washington," 60.

20. *Dictum Est* (1928), n.p.

21. Andrew J. Osbourne, Interview, March 30, 1972.

22. Dr. Charles Edson Caldwell, Interview, June 10, 1972; Eleanor F. Yapundich, "Charles Edson Caldwell: A Man Ahead of His Time," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Sacramento State College, 1972), pp. 5-16.

23. Engle was a Methodist and Caldwell a Presbyterian. Engle's early religious fervor had waned by the early 1930's. Dr. Charles Edson Caldwell, Interview, July 17, 1972.

24. Clair Engle to Martha Ann ("Mattie") Keeran, June 20, 1932.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Yvonne Engle Childs, Interview, February 15, 1972; Hazel Burney Engle, Interview, July 20, 1972.

27. Clair Engle to Martha Ann ("Mattie") Keeran, n.d.

28. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972; Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 19, 1972; Stanley Pugh to Sayles, December 11, 1972; James N. Froome, Interview, June 5, 1972; Milton Hull, Interview, June 5, 1972; Ray D. Siler, Interview, March 6, 1972; Bruce A. Werlauf to Sayles, July 21, 1972.

29. Judge Curtiss E. Wetter, Interview, July 25, 1972.

30. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972; Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 19, 1972.

31. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972.

32. *Ibid.*; Mosher to Sayles, November 21, 1972; Buena King to Sayles, August 7, 1972.

33. Fred J. Engle, III, Interview, October 11, 1972; Yvonne Engle Childs, Interview, September 11, 1972. Although he did not provide details about the meeting, Judge Wetter said that Engle "demanded" that he support him and that he responded by laughing at Engle. Judge Curtiss E. Wetter, Interview, July 25, 1972.

34. *Ibid.*

35. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972.

36. Jack Matteson to Sayles, May 12, 1972.

37. Thomas J. McGlynn, Interview, August 13, 1972. Judge Wetter concurs that such an incident occurred, but he provided no details. Judge Curtiss E. Wetter, Interview, July 25, 1972.

38. *Corning Observer*, November 1, 1934; November 5, 1934; *Gerber Star*, November 1, 1934.

39. *Red Bluff Daily News*, October 27, 1934; *Index of Registration for Tehama County*, September 27, 1934.

40. Buena King to Sayles, August 7, 1972; Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, June 24, 1972.

41. *Congressional Record*, 78th Cong., 2nd Sess., A3755; Phillip P. Dickinson to Miss Bessie Sanders, January 6, 1964. Dickinson was technical assistant to Senator Engle.

42. Judge Edmund M. Moor, Interview, July 27, 1972; John L. Moran, Interview, August 17, 1972.

43. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, July 1, 1972. However, Judge Moor concedes that it may be possible, but he has no clear personal recollection, of having talked with Curtiss E. Wetter about establishing himself in Corning. Judge Edmund M. Moor, Interview, July 27, 1972.

44. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, July 1, 1972.

45. Curtiss E. Wetter, Interview, July 25, 1972; William H. Bulkeley, Interview, May 30, 1972.

46. James N. Froome, Interview, June 5, 1972; Edmund M. Moor, Interview, July 27, 1972.

47. Letter from Chief Justice Earl Warren, November 30, 1972

48. Healy, "Wildcat in Washington," 60.
49. Hazel Burney Engle, Interview, July 20, 1974; Chet Derby, Interview, June 28, 1972; Albert V. Hornbeck, Interview, December 22, 1975; Edmund M. Moor, Interview, July 27, 1972.
50. Hazel Burney Engle, Interview, July 20, 1974.
51. Chet Derby, Interview, June 28, 1972.
52. Stanley Pugh to Sayles, December 11, 1972.
53. Hayden Saunders, Interview, July 14, 1972.
54. Clair Engle to Jesse W. Carter, December 30, 1938. Quoted by permission of the director of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
55. Hazel Burney Engle, Interview, July 20, 1974.
56. Clara McKechnie Parker, Interview, March 6, 1974.
57. Francis W. Mosher, Jr., Interview, July 1, 1972.
58. George Dryselt, Interview, July 18, 1972.
59. *Ibid.*
60. John H. Hill to Sayles, July 8, 1972; Reverend Norman B. Callaway, Interview, July 8, 1972; C. Dale Pickell, Interview, August 17, 1972; William H. Bulkeley, Interview, May 30, 1972.
61. Healy, "Wildcat in Washington," 60.
62. *Corning Observer*, August 6, 1972.
63. Jack Matteson to Sayles, May 12, 1972.
64. Tehama County Supervisor's Minutes, Vol. W., *Statement of the Vote of Tehama County, Direct Primary Election Held August 25, 1942*, 1; *Corning Observer*, August 27, 1942.
65. Arthur H. Samish and Bob Thomas, *The Secret Boss of California: The Life & Times of Art Samish* (New York: Crown Publishing, Inc., 1971), p. 121.
66. Edward H. Dickson to Sayles, September 6, 1972.
67. Carl Fischer, Interview, July 22, 1972.
68. Richard H. Rodda to Sayles, September 11, 1972; Harry Jackson Englebright, Interview, August 9, 1972.
69. Richard H. Rodda to Sayles, September 11, 1972.
70. Edward H. Dickson to Sayles, September 6, 1972.
71. Jack Matteson to Sayles, May 12, 1972; Hayden Saunders, Interview, July 14, 1972.
72. Vernon Ryan, Interview, November 13, 1972.
73. *Ibid.*; Daniel S. Carlton, Interview, July 28, 1972; Ryan to Sayles, November 30, 1972; Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 19, 1972.
74. Representative Harold T. ("Bizz") Johnson to Sayles, May 31, 1972.
75. Engle spent only \$937.37 on his campaign, with two-thirds going for traveling expenses. Clair Engle's Campaign Expenditure Statement, August 31, 1943. Also, Earl C. Behrens, "Race for Congress: Democrats Set Up Large Fund to Win the Englebright Seat," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 1, 1943.
76. *Corning Observer*, July 20, 1943; *Feather River Bulletin*, July 22, 1943.
77. *Siskiyou Daily News*, August 26, 1943.
78. Clara McKechnie Parker, Interview, May 6, 1972; *Red Bluff Daily News*, August 27, 1943.
79. *Statement of the Vote*, Second Congressional District, August 31, 1943.
80. Clair Engle to J. C. Kempvanc, January 18, 1944.
81. Clair Engle to J. P. Hall, March 18, 1944.
82. *Corning Observer*, January 6, 1944.
83. Clair Engle to J. P. Hall, December 19, 1943.
84. James K. Carr to Clair Engle, October 13, 1943.
85. Clair Engle to James K. Carr, October 16, 1943.
86. J. P. Hall to Clair Engle, March 25, 1944.
87. Clair Engle to J. P. Hall, March 18, 1944.
88. *Redding Record-Searchlight*, May 15, 1944.
89. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1944.
90. *Statement of the Vote*, Consolidated Primary Election, Special State Election, and Special Election Eighth Senatorial District, May 16, 1944, 8.
91. Clair Engle to Paul Bodenhamer, August 19, 1944; Engle to J. P. Hall, August 31, 1944.
92. *Statement of the Vote*, General Election, November 7, 1944, 8.
93. Edna Weisbart, Interview, August 1, 1972.

New Almaden's Casa Grande

PHYLLIS F. BUTLER

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Historic Buildings, 1792-1920, a survey of extant historic buildings.*

MANY CALIFORNIA TOWNS HAVE HAD THEIR "CASA GRANDES," but none has been more surprisingly elegant than the mansion designed by General Henry Halleck for New Almaden. About fifteen miles south of San Jose where the Almaden road narrows to a country lane, the large, handsome house marks the entrance to the old "Hacienda," standing as living proof of the forgotten hamlet's past glory as the first and richest mine in California. Reminiscent of a colonial manor house, Casa Grande has a history, however, as enigmatic as the remarkable man who built it.

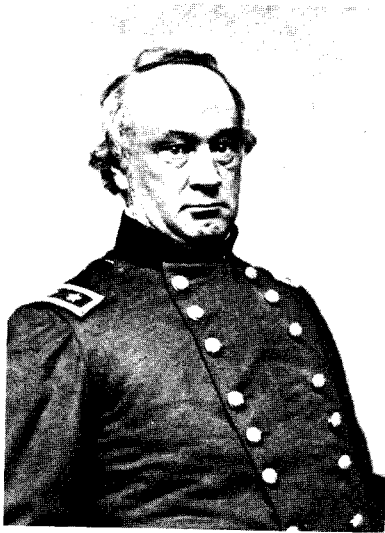
When Captain Henry Wager Halleck assumed his duties as director general of the New Almaden mine in 1850, he found New Almaden a primitive Mexican mining camp. Immediately, the brilliant West Point soldier took steps to organize an efficient operation, replacing archaic whaling pots with six brick furnaces to reduce the natural cinnabar or mercuric sulfide to quicksilver or mercury. (Quicksilver was used to extract gold and silver from ore or, when further processed, as a detonator in explosives.) By April, 1852, Halleck also began erecting a large range of brick buildings to replace the old frame shelters dotting the site.¹

Halleck visited the mine every two weeks, traveling back and forth from the San Francisco office he shared with his law partners, Archibald Peachy and Frederick Billings.² Their highly successful law firm, Halleck, Peachy, and Billings, moved to Halleck's bold Montgomery Block in December of 1853 when it was completed; the impressive structure was the largest building in the West, and it earned the name "Halleck's Folly" for its grandiose design.³

When he stayed at New Almaden, Halleck shared quarters with the resident superintendent, John Young, a former coast trader and sailing master. Young became a major stockholder in the mine after the death of his father-in-law, Robert Walkinshaw, who had arrived at New Almaden from Mexico in 1847 to be the first mine manager for Barron, Forbes & Company, which owned the controlling interest in the mine.

Work probably began on Casa Grande after September, 1852, when Halleck's law firm, having received a \$30,000 retainer fee from the New Almaden Company, filed petition on their behalf with the U.S. Land Commission, based on Barron, Forbes & Company's claim to the mine. This British mercantile firm

which operated out of Tepic, Mexico, had first acquired an interest in the mine in 1846 from Andrés Castillero, a captain in the Mexican cavalry who had officially registered the mine in late 1845. Since there was no representative of the Federal (Mexican) Division of Mines in California—which was still part of Mexico—the documents were filed with local officials in San Jose.⁴ As construction of a house and possession of the land were most crucial to establishing a land title, Casa Grande symbolized the permanency and stability of the Barron-Forbes interest, as well as serving as a hotel for shareholders visiting the mine. Halleck designed the stately three-story, twenty-seven-room building, which



When Captain Henry Halleck (left) assumed his duties as director general of the New Almaden mine in 1850, he found New Almaden a primitive Mexican mining camp.

OPPOSITE: Casa Grande's fashionable Chinese-style gazebo lent an illusion of gentility to the "Hacienda," but in the 1860's the mining camp on the hill was still a haven for fugitives.

Casa Grande's fortress-like foundation, two-foot-thick walls, and sheltered veranda with slender, ornamented wood columns are typical of the architecture favored by Halleck. The 27-room building with its gazebo (at left) was some 25-years-old when this photo was taken c. 1880.

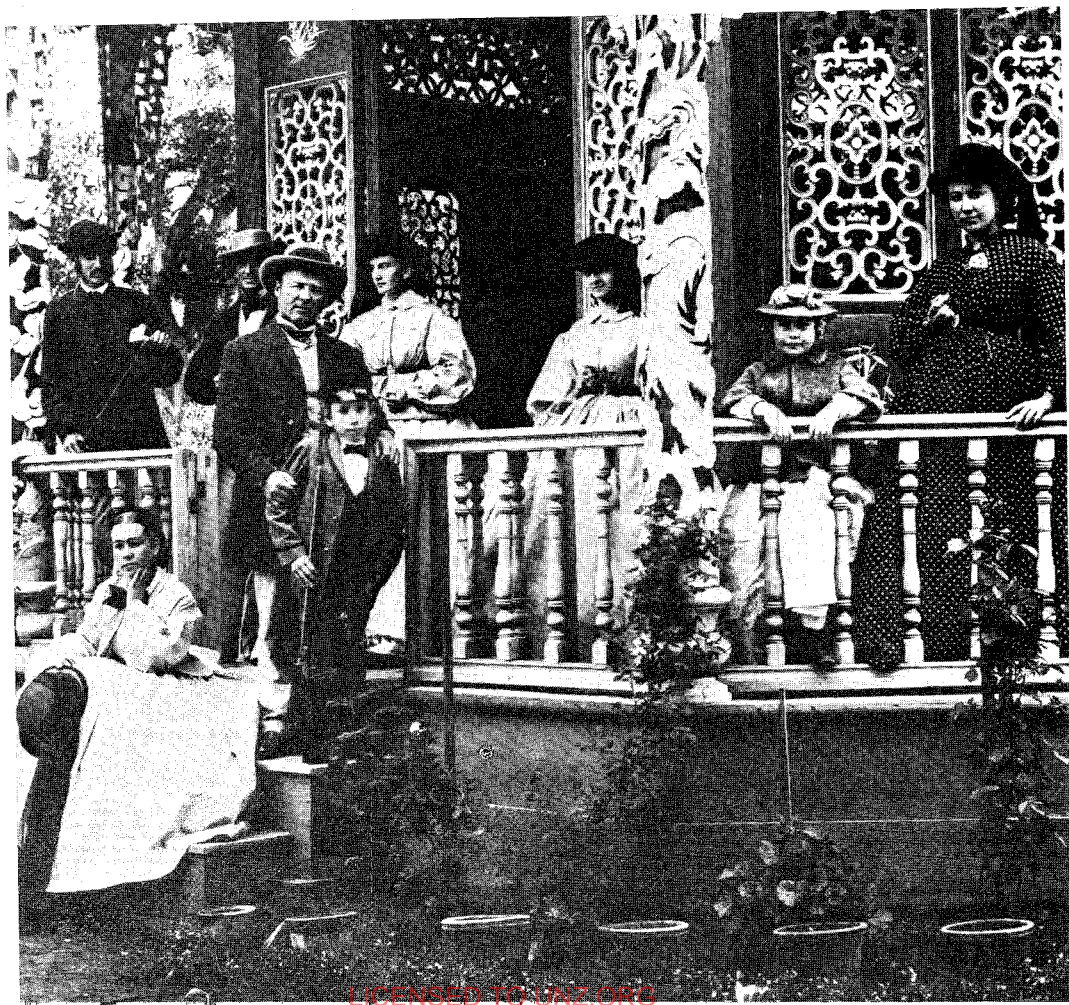


was completed late in 1854 or early 1855, in the classic revival style that dominated major California architecture in the 1850's. Architect Gordon Cummings who made the final plans for Halleck's Montgomery Block may have had a hand in its design as well; the two buildings are closely related in style.⁵ However, the fortress-like foundations, two-foot-thick unadorned brick walls, and sheltered veranda with its slender wooden columns are typical of the federal architecture that Halleck favored.

In 1854 Halleck resigned from the army and returned to his native state of New York to become engaged to Elizabeth Hamilton, sister of his former West Point roommate Schuyler Hamilton, whom Halleck had left in charge as administrator at the New Almaden mine. Following Halleck's marriage in Manhattan at the estate which once belonged to Elizabeth's grandfather, Alexander Hamilton, the Hallecks returned to San Francisco where they made their home on fashionable Rincon Hill.⁶

It is unlikely that the aristocratic Elizabeth spent more than "country weekends" (*de rigueur* for wealthy San Franciscans of the late 1850's) at Casa Grande. The Mexican camp on the hill was still a haven for fugitives from what seemed to native Californians as arbitrary American justice, and knifings and murder were a frequent occurrence at the camp.⁷

Casa Grande, however, became headquarters for mining company partners who often gathered to relax and concoct the extravagant dealings which placed them among the most powerful men in San Francisco. New Almaden's major



stockholders included merchant princes Eustaquio Barron (who lived in Mexico) and his cousin William E. Barron. Other partners were John Parrott, United States consul at Mazatlán at the outbreak of the Mexican War and the leading banker of San Francisco, and James R. Bolton, former acting United States consul at Mazatlán who made a fortune in the notorious Santillan claim to Mission Dolores. Captain John Young, the resident mine superintendent, also lived "like a prince" at Casa Grande with his wife Maxima Walkinshaw Young and her bevy of beautiful half-Spanish, half-Scottish sisters.⁸

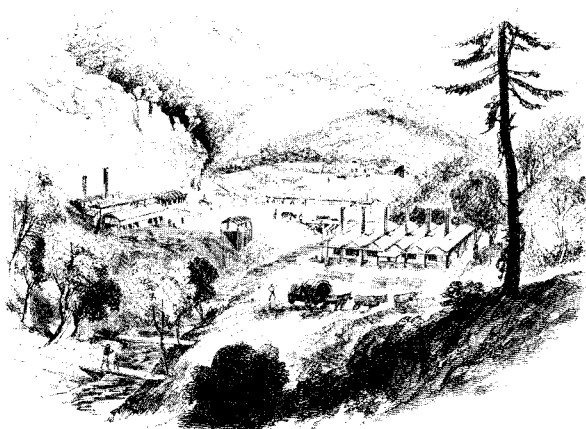
Halleck, who was never a shareholder in the mine, grew in prominence in San Francisco business circles as a leading land lawyer and president of the proposed Pacific and Atlantic Railroad. He continued to collect a \$500 monthly salary as director general of New Almaden, while his law firm collected the fees for the mine's monumental legal work.

After the outbreak of the Civil War, Halleck, who had distinguished himself by gallant conduct in the Mexican War, was commissioned major general in the Army. On October 10, 1861, San Francisco paid the reserved Halleck farewell tribute with a thirteen-gun salute as he, his wife, and his five-year-old son sailed out the Golden Gate bound for Washington, D.C., where Halleck was assigned to succeed General Frémont as head of the Department of Missouri.⁹

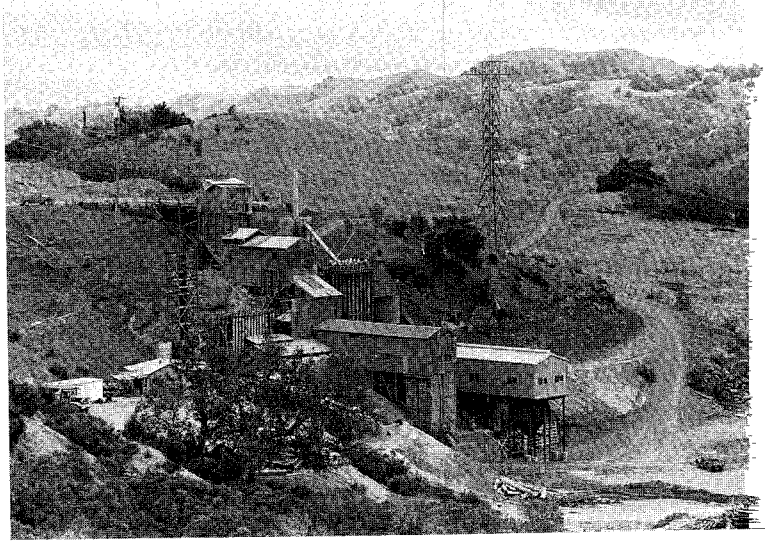
In July of 1862 General Halleck, whose books on national defense and laws of war were highly regarded in the capital, was appointed general-in-chief of all land forces. Within months, however, controversial verbal attacks over his conduct of duties made Halleck, in the words of his old friend General William Sherman, "the most unpopular man in Washington."¹⁰ The great esteem he held among Californians is difficult to reconcile with the reputedly indecisive, pedantic Halleck of the Civil War years.



By 1852, Halleck had modernized the New Almaden operation (below), replacing frame shelters with brick buildings and whaling pots with brick furnaces. Men (left, descending shaft) mined cinnabar which was reduced to quicksilver or mercury.



The New Almaden mine operation on Mine Hill, the first mine in California, is now part of a Santa Clara County park. Photo by Lee Foster.



When General Halleck returned to command the Department of the Pacific at San Francisco in 1865, he was understandably “happy to be home.” The day after his arrival a crowd of a thousand people gathered as the military band “serenaded” outside the Occidental Hotel where the general was staying.¹¹

During Halleck’s absence, the mine had been closed pending litigation from 1859 to 1861 and later operated under the direction of Sherman Day. Secondary legal cases and appeals regarding the ownership of the mine had continued to grind through the courts, and with the advent of the Civil War the largely British partners in the New Almaden Company suddenly capitulated and sold out on August 26, 1863, to the Quicksilver Mining Company, an eastern firm that had already acquired a neighboring rancho and mining operation. Halleck visited New Almaden occasionally after his return, but the mine was in the hands of the Quicksilver Mining Company whose former company president, Samuel F. Butterworth, acted as general agent and manager.

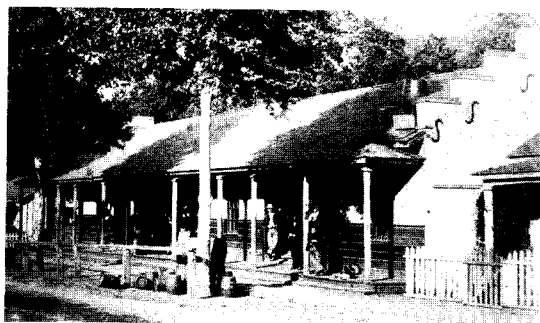
Sam Butterworth and his wife Mary lived at Casa Grande for two years before they moved to San Francisco where their two daughters became noted society belles. The reportedly beautiful girls married into the city’s most influential clans; Blanche became the wife of Louis T. Haggin, son of James Ben Ali Haggin, a Kentucky-born millionaire and partner of Lloyd Tevis, president of Wells Fargo. Tevis and Haggin were among the foremost capitalists of the city in the latter 1800’s.¹² Busy in San Francisco, Butterworth turned over the local management of the mine to his wife’s nephew, Dr. James A. Nowland, who also served as the resident physician.¹³

During the sixties, Casa Grande, still owned and managed by the mining company, became a chic resort hotel. Parties of “nobs” arrived after a five-hour train and stage trip from San Francisco to spend a fortnight sitting on the broad veranda, sipping the popular Almaden Vichy Water, and delighting in the picturesqueness of the camp. A noted writer of the time enthused over the “romantic” spot in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, remarking in 1865 that the Hacienda (as Casa Grande was called then) had “appointments in excellent taste—simple and rural yet convenient and elegant.”¹⁴

When Samuel Butterworth decided to retire in 1870, he recommended that his nephew, James Butterworth Randol, succeed him as general manager at New Almaden. The young New Yorker, who had been secretary of the Quicksilver Mining Company since its incorporation, brought the then declining mine



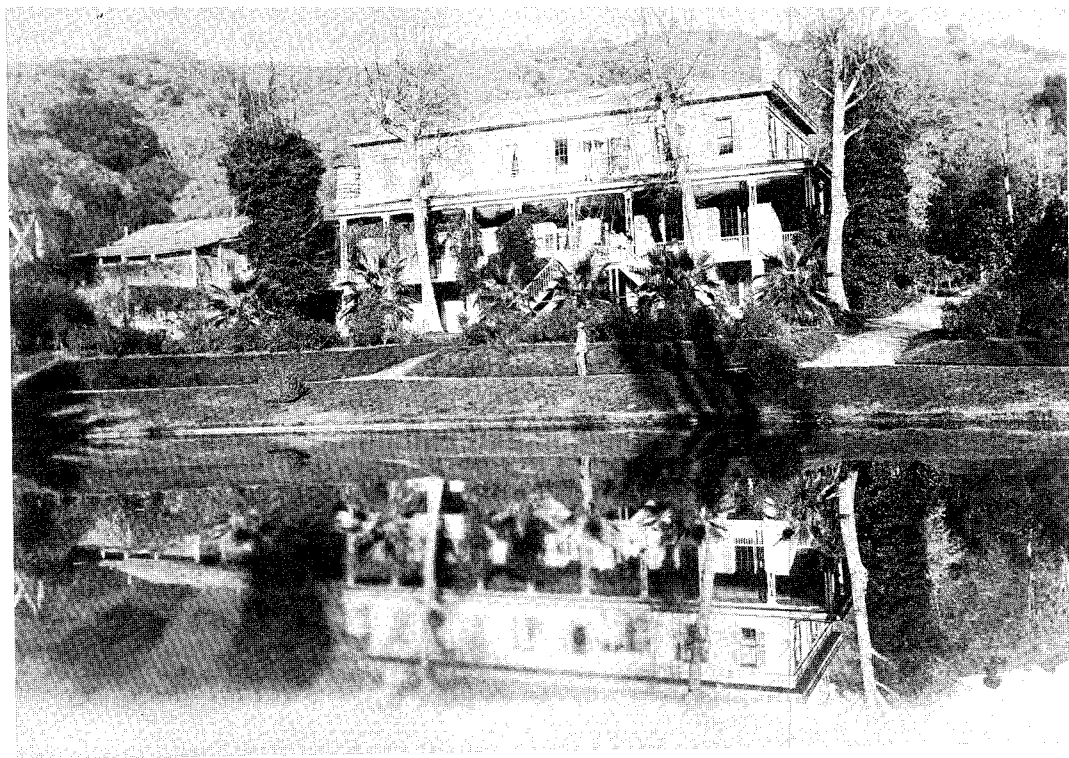
The company town of New Almaden became a picturesque and widely talked-about model town under the leadership of James B. Randol. Streets and cottages were kept trim and newly painted (above, photo c. 1917), and an adobe store (below, photo c. 1870) served the mines' employees and their families.



Under Randol's management, Los Alamitos Creek was diverted to make a lovely reflecting lake at the rear of the Hacienda (photo c. 1890), and landscaping further enhanced Casa Grande's picturesque setting.

back to reach its peak production. In 1887 it paid over a million dollars in dividends to its stockholders. Under Randol's strict supervision the village and townspeople blossomed, too. The humanitarian manager instituted generous health and welfare plans for the mines' employees and their families. Roadways and cottages were kept trim and newly painted, with cuttings from Casa Grande's five acres of garden made available to inhabitants to turn New Almaden into a picturesque and widely talked-about model town.¹⁵

Apparently dispensing with the hotel operation at Casa Grande, Randol in time enhanced the already imposing appearance of the residence. Los Alamitos Creek was diverted to provide a large private lake on the property and extensive landscaping further enhanced its appearance. But, evidently, Christina Randol was never happy at New Almaden, even in the refurbished Casa Grande. Longing for her family and friends in the East, she left the mine in 1887 shortly after the departure of her sister and brother-in-law, the Robert Burnett Smiths, who



had lived with the Randols at Casa Grande for three or four years while Smith acted as company accountant. In 1888, perhaps hoping to lure Christina and their five children back to New Almaden, Randol thoroughly remodeled the mansion, installing a gymnasium for his sons William and Frederick and enlarging the nursery for the younger children Elizabeth and Garrey. The plan was apparently successful for the Randols returned to New Almaden and lived there until "J. B." retired in 1892.¹⁶

Former company cashier Robert R. Bulmore then assumed the company's general agentship, and he moved his family into Casa Grande. They remained there until the turn of the century, when the mine's famous cinnabar seemed to have been depleted. The company declared bankruptcy in 1912, Casa Grande was abandoned, and for the next several years it remained a white elephant. In the 1920's the once stately mansion became a roadhouse-hotel, and in the thirties, striptease dancers performed in the ballroom as well as the upstairs rooms. Since that time a variety of enterprises, best described as "honky-tonk," have operated at Casa Grande, but they have been completely out of character with the home's historic past.

The County of Santa Clara hopes to raise funds to restore the house to its former elegance for use as a visitors center for the recently acquired county park on nearby Mine Hill. At present the elegant Casa Grande stands empty, full only of memories.

NOTES

1. John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Exploration and Incidents in California 1850-1858* (New York), 2:57.
2. H. W. Halleck testimony in *U.S. vs. Castillero* transcript (1860), 1:326-28.
3. Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier* (San Marino, 1960), p. 56; Idwal Jones, *Ark of Empire* (New York, 1951).
4. William R. Hutton, *Glances at California 1847-1853* (San Marino, 1942), diary entry for August, 1852; *U.S. vs. Castillero* transcript, 1:326-28; Kenneth M. Johnson, *The New Almaden Quicksilver Mine* (Georgetown, California, 1963), pp. 17-19. In 1852 Hutton was surveying at New Almaden.
5. Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier*, 56.
6. *Dictionary of American Biography*, "Schuyler Hamilton," 2:91; Milton H. Shutes, "Henry Wager Halleck," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 16:199 (1937).
7. Monro-Fraser, "Homicides," in *History of Santa Clara County* (Chicago, 1881), pp. 220-25.
8. Santa Clara County Miscellaneous Record Book, B-121; William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California in 1861-1864* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 157-58.
9. Shutes, "Henry Wager Halleck," 200.
10. William T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (New York, 1875), 1:282.
11. *Alta California*, August 27, 1865.
12. Amelia R. Neville, *The Fantastic City* (San Francisco, 1932), p. 185.
13. Biographical sketch, Record of Sarah Amis Lyman, in California Historical Society, San Francisco.
14. J. Ross Browne, "Down at the Cinnabar Mines," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 31:546-47 (July, 1865).
15. "A Contested Election in California," reprinted from *San Jose Daily Mercury*, Santa Clara County, 1887.
16. *City Directories* for San Jose and San Francisco, 1870-1895.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS on pages 316 (bottom), 318 (right), 320 (bottom), and 322 are in the author's collection. The photos on pages 316 (top), 317, 318 (left), 320 (top), and 321 are in the Society's collection. The photo on page 319 is courtesy Lee Foster.



After the mine's bankruptcy in 1912, the elegant Casa Grande housed a variety of honky-tonk enterprises. It now awaits funds for restoration as a visitors' center to the Mine Hill county park.

The Land Business of Thomas O. Larkin

PAUL W. GATES

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and a lifetime student of public land questions.*

MASSACHUSETTS'S SONS PLAYED A LEADING ROLE in California's trade from the last decade of the eighteenth century until statehood was achieved. The shipping firms of William Sturgis (later Bryant & Sturgis and still later William Appleton & Co.), J. & T. H. Perkins & Co., James Hunnewell, Andrew Cabot, James and Henry Lee, Abiel and Jonathan Winship, Marshall & Wildes, and Boardman & Pope, all of Boston, were attracted to the coast by the great quantities of hides needed by New England's rapidly growing industry and by the supplies of tallow and furs, especially sea otter fur, available on the Pacific Coast.¹ Evasion of licensing regulations and customs duties was common in this trade, which included carrying furs from California and Oregon and sandalwood from the Sandwich Islands to China, where they were exchanged for the exotic goods from the Orient at Canton. More than a dozen of the chief traders on the California coast had come as ships' captains, supercargoes, or seaman. Best known of these Bostonians was Richard Henry Dana, Jr., who arrived in Santa Barbara early in 1835 and remained in the region for more than a year representing the China trading firm of Bryant & Sturgis in exchanging Yankee notions for hides and tallow. His *Two Years Before the Mast* is almost as important for the light it throws on trade in California as for its fascinating detail about life aboard sailing ships of the time. Dana's twentieth-century editor says that he was persuaded to delete or moderate some of his criticisms of the trade, "perhaps in deference to the feelings of Messrs. Bryant, Sturgis and Co.," especially his "account of stratagems used to confuse and mislead the Mexican customs officers . . . and of some smuggling engaged in. . . ." In a letter to his father of December, 1835, Dana spoke more candidly of English and American traders, as follows:

They go on, making money by selling diluted rum and brandy to the Spaniards and Indians, at a *Real* (12½ cents) per glass; cheating the customs, stealing horses and cattle, breaking the Sabbath, marrying and bringing up children to go and do likewise. As is generally the case, the Foreigners excel the natives in following the vices of the country.²

Dana elected to leave California, but three other Boston men who were associated with Bryant & Sturgis took up permanent residence and entered into the trade between their native city and the West Coast and the Sandwich Islands on an extensive scale. William Sturgis Hinckley was a member of the prominent Sturgis family who became a Mexican citizen, married into a Mexican family, was twice arrested for smuggling, and yet was given a place in the official hierarchy. Alfred Robinson, one of the oldest and perhaps the most respected Yankee pioneer, contributed an account of *Life in California* which throws much light on



Boldly grouped in commercial solidarity are five merchant princes who came to own a large chunk of California. Larkin (center, seated), perhaps one of the wealthiest men in the nation, is flanked by Jacob P. Leese (left), who secured Mexican citizenship to qualify for land grants, and W. D. M. Howard (right), a Massachusetts-born entrepreneur. Standing are Samuel Brannan (right), a storekeeper who became one of California's wealthiest real estate millionaires, and a man who may be Talbot H. Green (left), who worked for Larkin and became prosperous and politically active before being recognized as a defaulting bank clerk from Pennsylvania living under an assumed name.

the amusements of the *Californios*. Henry Mellus, who came out on the same vessel with Richard Henry Dana, became one of the richest San Francisco traders. Other Massachusetts men who built up fortunes from trade and shipping included Abel Stearns, who used his profits to create the largest landed estate held by a naturalized alien, W. D. M. Howard (a partner of Henry Mellus), Faxon Dean Atherton, Nathan Spear, Daniel Hill, John Temple, and William Goodwin Dana.³ All were shrewd businessmen who knew well what they could afford to pay for hides and how they could best purchase supplies and goods to advantage in Boston. Six of these men took out Mexican citizenship and married into the aristocracy of Mexican California—the Bandini, Carrillo, Cota, de la Guerra, Martinez, and Ortega families—thus enabling them to avoid severe penalties for their evasion of customs duties and to accumulate large land grants.

One of the most interesting of the dozen Massachusetts men who remained in California to make a fortune was Thomas O. Larkin. He arrived in California in 1832 with less education and fewer resources than most of the others, neither gave up his American citizenship nor married into the local aristocracy, yet was to have the greatest impact of all the men upon the growing center of Americanism on the coast. It was Larkin who, while American consul at Monterey and while building up his own fortune, quietly attempted to dissipate anti-American feeling and to checkmate the activities of those people who looked to England rather than the United States for leadership. Trying to win the confidence of responsible Mexican leaders, he became convinced that American acquisition of California could be achieved through peaceful means because of the friendly relations he and other former residents of the United States had established with them and because of the weakness and ineptitude of their own officials who were proving unable to deal adequately with any of the important problems of government. By 1846, after war broke out, Larkin moved "heaven and earth to accomplish annexation . . . by peaceful means," says one writer. He was greatly troubled by the drastic action of Frémont and the Bear Flag group and the turmoil that followed. Probably no American was regarded as favorably as Larkin by responsible Californians. Of the twelve influential businessmen from Massachusetts, only Larkin and Stearns were elected to serve in the constitutional convention in 1849 and gave their time to its deliberations. Josiah Royce, the philosopher-historian who produced an important history, *California from the Conquest to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco*, is violently prejudiced in spots, but we may accept his judgment that Larkin was "foremost among the men who won for us California. . . ."⁴

Larkin's precious collection of letters has been published by the University of California Press in ten amazingly useful volumes, plus index volume, and each is accompanied by a valuable introduction by George P. Hammond. The letters constitute a prime source for the study of the commerce of Mexican California and the various economic and political forces that culminated in the revolt against the local Mexican administrators and the acquisition of California for the United States.⁵ Larkin's career was intertwined with that event, and an exploration of his financial activities and land business sheds light on the role of trading, buying, and selling goods and land in the early California economy.

Prior to moving to California, Thomas O. Larkin, of old Massachusetts stock, lived for ten years in North Carolina where he engaged in various commercial activities, none of which won him wealth or social position. Dissatisfied with his lack of success, at the age of thirty he was persuaded by his half-brother, John B. R. Cooper, to come to Mexican California to aid him in conducting his successful shipping and trading operations centered at Monterey. In 1833, a year after his arrival, Larkin set himself up in the commission business and with capital of \$500 opened a general store for the sale of "groceries, grog, produce, and dry goods." Soon he was operating a small flour mill and a soap factory, as well as dealing in lumber. His major receipts in this money-short economy were in the form of hides. Recognizing early that favors to leading Mexican officials might be returned with large profit to himself, he slyly managed to evade Mexican duties which were heavy but rarely enforced. Larkin's combination of Yankee shrewd-

ness, imaginative business talents, and closeness in money matters soon enabled him to accumulate considerable capital. His confidence that it was California's destiny to become a part of the United States led him shrewdly to invest his profits from trading and shipping in cattle ranchos and in San Francisco city lots before they started their swift rise in value.⁶

Joseph Revere may well have had Larkin in mind when he described the business in hides as he saw it in 1846 in Monterey and elsewhere. The goods that Boston merchants sent out to exchange for hides included "assorted cargoes of plain cottons, prints, handkerchiefs, shoes, hats, coarse woollens, hardware, fancy goods and, in short, specimens of all the cheapest fabrics of Lowell, Lynn and Marblehead, and a plentiful supply of the auction trash of Boston." The goods were then peddled "at most enormous profits, justified to the awfully shaved purchaser by the well-salted invoices, and monstrous duties paid to the honest officials." For example, Revere observed, "a piece of coarse Lowell 'Manta,' or unbleached muslin, costing at home not over three dollars, was spared to the rancher for twenty dollars, and other things in the same fair proportion." After the *Matanza* (the annual slaughtering of cattle), the traders demanded the hides at moderate prices to meet payments on the debts the rancheros had accumulated in drawing supplies.⁷ Another contemporary observer reported that with few exceptions the rancheros were deeply in debt to American merchants, altogether to the tune of a half million dollars, which could only be met by the sale of their cattle, their only means of subsistence, or, as subsequent events were to show, by the mortgage or sale of their ranchos.⁸ In this way, then, Yankee traders established and then extended their influence in Mexican California.

From his first business ventures the Yankee trader Larkin prospered. Even in 1843, when trade generally in California was "very bad" and "Farmers & Traders very much in debt," he had "a vast amt." due him, and he admitted to fellow Massachusetts-born businessman Faxon Dean Atherton that he was "getting rich in houses, debts & produce."⁸ In fact, his ledgers carefully show the annual accumulation of his wealth from 1835 to 1846 as follows:¹⁰

1835	\$ 2,650	1841	\$21,493
1836	4,708	1842	37,958
1837	5,626	1843	49,147
1838	11,013	1844	46,505
1839	13,788	1845	60,175
1840	15,895	1846	66,644

Larkin's prominence in the commercial life of the province, his strong Americanism and apparent disinclination to give up his citizenship in order to marry into native families and acquire grants—as did many Americans and British subjects—and his informative letters to James Buchanan, the *New York Sun*, and the *New York Herald* may have been responsible for his appointment as American consul at Monterey in 1844. The post brought him no salary and perhaps only modest fees.¹¹ It did, however, add to his growing prestige and afford him greater prominence that proved useful in his expanding trade. With the acquisition of California by the United States, Larkin's consulate lapsed, but his familiarity with business leaders led to his appointment as a government "confidential agent" in

1847 and later as navy agent with a salary of \$2,000. While holding this position Larkin was billing the United States the amount of \$4,420 for the use of the wharf at Monterey for four months, supplying great quantities of bread to naval vessels stationed at that port, and making big purchases for Frémont and other United States officers at his usual percentages. On delayed payments he expected 24 per cent interest. Reflective of Larkin's business operations, Commodore James Biddle seemed to think the amount Larkin charged for the wharf was for its purchase, not for rent. At the same time Larkin, as the recent purchaser of the Benito Diaz two-league Punta de Lobos claim in present San Francisco, was protesting that government forces were occupying his property and tearing down some while repairing other buildings in the Presidio. He demanded compensation for such occupancy and partial destruction.¹²

Clearly, Larkin was not content to become rich only through commerce, which in the gold rush days of 1847-1850 greatly enhanced his fortune as a result of the swift turnover of the goods he foreseeingly imported in this period of peak demand. As every good American knew, land—urban or untouched—was the safest and surest of investments, provided that it was carefully selected with a view to future growth and demand and that sufficient capital was held in reserve to carry it until the expected demand appeared. Overall, Larkin was a prudent investor, though on occasion he took risks with small parts of his capital by buying into property having uncertain titles. Being an American citizen and, indeed, consul, he was unable to obtain a grant for himself from Mexican officials, as had numerous other English and American immigrants to California, including his half-brother, John B. R. Cooper, his employee, Josiah Belden, and John Bidwell, Henry D. Fitch, W. E. P. Hartnell, Jacob Leese, Pearson P. Reading, and Isaac J. Sparks. There were, however, other ways by which he and his family could obtain ranchos, and of course after American control was established he purchased extensively of urban lots in Sacramento, Los Angeles, Monterey, and San Francisco.

Before that time, however, Larkin found it desirable to curry favor with the prevailing authorities. Mexican Governor Manuel Micheltorena, badgered by internal dissension, dependent on rowdy and unreliable ragged soldiers, and lacking the means to finance his government, turned to Larkin for aid, which was promptly rendered. By placing the governor heavily in his debt Larkin assured himself exemption from too rigorous enforcement of duties on his imported Boston goods. In addition, Larkin in 1844 succeeded in gaining a grant of ten leagues for his children after they had gone through a somewhat questionable naturalization ceremony.¹³ Abel Stearns, the leading Southern California landowner and merchant, notified Larkin on June 12, 1846, that the children's grant had not been approved by the assembly "on account of the law not authorizing naturalizing minors. I could not persuade them to the measure." Larkin was not troubled about the limitation on the title to the rancho, however, which was located on the Sacramento River in Colusa County, a spot which he thought promising. His power was great, and he usually wielded it to his considerable advantage.

When Pío Pico replaced Micheltorena as governor in 1845 after a characteristically bloodless revolution and ordered that debts incurred by his predecessor not

be paid, Larkin solemnly protested, warning the governor that he would hold him responsible for any loss of interest or principle he sustained. He also implied that Pico would be without funds for his own and the government's needs unless he relaxed his order.¹⁴ Only a man of outstanding financial importance in the province could have taken such a position and thus force the government to recognize its obligations.

Though Larkin as an alien could not expect to win a direct land grant from the Mexican governors, there was no legal barrier to his purchasing grants given to citizens. Also to his advantage, there were no restrictions on the number of grants or the total acreage he might buy, whereas Mexican citizens were barred from receiving direct grants from the government in excess of eleven leagues. (Of course, citizens could add to their eleven leagues by additional purchases.) Recognizing his opportunity, in 1846 Larkin began to invest a portion of his growing wealth in land either through outright purchases or by taking land in satisfaction of debts owed him.

In 1846, in association with John S. Missroon, a naval lieutenant, Larkin acquired from Manuel Jimeno his eleven league grant just south of Larkin's children's rancho on the Sacramento for \$2,000. To conform to Mexican land law Larkin made some small improvements on the rancho and sent some livestock to be kept there. Missroon was not able to meet his share of the expenses, and when an opportunity came to sell his share for \$4,500 he took it. About the same time Larkin sold his half-share for \$12,000, the difference being the result of smarter salesmanship.¹⁵ The unshakable Larkin, while being held a prisoner in Los Angeles by the revived Mexican forces in 1847, purchased from Charles Flügge the Boga rancho of 22,184 acres on the Feather River facing the children's rancho. This gave him, he calculated, an interest in a long frontage on the Sacramento with a possibility that the boundaries of Boga might be extended into the foothills of the Sierra where gold might be found. Expanding his sphere, in 1848 he acquired all or part of Cotati in Sonoma County, containing 17,238 acres, and in 1851 one half of Huichicha in Sonoma and Napa counties, his share being 9,352 acres.¹⁶

Little information exists about Larkin's negotiations for Cotati, a four-league rancho which was purchased on September 25, 1846, from Juan Castañeda, the grantee. Larkin offered portions of it to persons who would agree to make improvements on his lots in Benicia, but whether the work was done is not clear. He sold the rancho, whose papers were in good order, to Joseph S. Ruckel for \$16,000 on August 22, 1849, doubtless at an excellent profit, for remote ranchos were not yet attracting high prices.

Two of Larkin's acquisitions threatened to bring him into conflict with another land speculator, José Limantour, a wealthy Mexican trader operating on the West Coast who had grand dreams of acquiring most of San Francisco and as much as 200,000 acres in the Bay Area by whatever means, fair or foul, he found useful. The first of the Larkin-Limantour clashes came in a dispute over an eleven-league claim in Monterey County, Cienega de Gabilan, which had been granted to Antonio Chaves, an old *Californio* who owned a total of five claims. Chaves seems to have sold Cienega to José Limantour for \$500.¹⁷ The claim was rejected by the Land Commission, which arbitrated such claims, in 1855 in the absence of both Chaves and Limantour. In commercial relations with Chaves, who was

deeply in debt to him, Larkin had acquired his title to Cienega, as well as to that of Pleyto and lots in San Francisco, and arranged to appeal the Cienega case through Isaac Hartman to the district court where the title was confirmed, though only after a second hearing.¹⁸

Larkin was never one to neglect any opportunity of enriching himself, though he liked, indeed insisted, on having all details of business arrangements, however questionable, clearly set forth. Hearing that other men of means were using Indians as virtual slaves in mining for gold in the foothills and river beds, he made arrangements with two of his employees to take a score or more of Indians, equipped with a rocker or cradle, to search for the precious mineral. Early reports suggested that considerable quantities of gold were recovered, but the Indians deserted, and difficulties with his lieutenants halted further operations.¹⁹

By 1846 the existence of quicksilver ore in present Santa Clara and San Benito counties attracted Larkin's attention. In the midst of the Mexican War he and several others acquired an interest in a three-quarter-league grant to Justo Larios that was to prove extraordinarily rich in deposits of mercury. This brought him into one of the most tangled litigations in the history of the state, and after two years of participation in it he and his associates sold their mine on Capitancillos for \$63,000.²⁰

Other ranchos in which Larkin gained an interest included Carmel, Punta de Pinos, and Punta de Lobos, and he offered to buy the Munrás 19,979-acre claim of San Vicente in Monterey County but without success.²¹ The Carmel investments, which were deeded to Larkin in March, 1846, for \$1,400 and consisted of one league and 2,000 varas square on the Carmel River, may either have been part of the eleven-league Carmel grant to James Morehead of May 4, 1846, or they may have been a part of the Carmel mission.²² They were not pushed for confirmation before Larkin's death, and his papers give little information about them.

Punta de Pinos, a small rancho of 2,666 acres in Monterey County, had passed into the hands of Larkin and three other associates in 1850. Like so many of the claims, the title was involved because there were two sets of claimants. One of them acquired the rights of the original grantee, subsequently obtained a regrant or confirmation from a later California governor, and then sold his title to Larkin and associates. The other claimants were the heirs of the original grantee who maintained that no sale of their rights had ever been made. The Larkin associates showed a willingness to buy out the rights of the other group, probably fearing that otherwise their title would not gain confirmation.²³

In the late forties and fifties during San Francisco's great boom the fabrication of claims to land in the city flourished as real estate values shot up spectacularly with the gold rush. The Punta de Lobos claim had allegedly been given on June 25, 1846, to Benito Diaz, a somewhat prominent Mexican who had been collector of customs in Santa Barbara and San Francisco. It consisted of two leagues, including the Presidio, its fortifications, and the Mission Dolores. Larkin, like John C. Frémont, was casting about in all directions to engross land claims which, as early as 1845, he had predicted would make their owners rich. While still serving as consul in Monterey, Larkin bought from Diaz his San Francisco claim for \$1,000 on September 19, 1846, not three months after it had been granted him

No evidence has been found to show whether or not Larkin had any part in initiating the grant.²⁴ Grave doubts persisted as to its validity.

Joseph L. Folsom, collector of the Port of San Francisco and already on the way toward a fortune through his real estate deals, cast doubts on the claim in 1848, as did Captain Henry W. Halleck in his well known report of 1849 upon the lands and mission property in California. Both Folsom and Halleck agreed that Mexican law did not permit the sale or conveyance of any lands that might be needed for forts or barracks, that grants for colonization had to be more than ten leagues from the coast, that the Diaz grant was on unstamped and hence illegal paper, that it had not been approved by the departmental assembly, that it had no accompanying certification and was signed by Pío Pico not at Los Angeles before American control was established, as was alleged, but after California was in the possession of Americans, and that it had been antedated.²⁵ Notwithstanding these questions concerning the validity of Diaz title to Punta de Lobos, Larkin made the purchase, and in 1847, before Mexico had ceded California to the United States and while Larkin was still in the service of the United States, he wrote Colonel Richard B. Mason who commanded American troops protesting "against my said property being used by any person or persons, privately or for the Government, without a due consideration being paid to me & further protest against any of the same in case of damages that may be sustained by me now or hereafter."²⁶

Larkin was surely aware of the uncertainty of his title to Punta de Lobos, but he nevertheless made every effort to gain confirmation, though he conceded that he might lose the fort which "would matter but little. . . ."²⁷ To strengthen his support and at the same time share his equity, he expressed the wish to sell one-half to some enterprising person, although he would not sell the entire tract for \$20,000. The next year, however, he sold it to Bethuel Phelps and Dexter Wright for \$50,000, according to the *Alta California*,²⁸ agreeing to take numerous lots in the rancho when it was surveyed and divided.²⁹ His responsibility for the title continued, and in 1854 Larkin wrote Stearns of his plan to go to Los Angeles to secure testimony from former governor Pío Pico concerning the making of the grant in 1845. In fact, he requested Stearns to show Pico the papers in advance of the meeting and prepare him to give the right answers under questioning.³⁰ Larkin's efforts notwithstanding, it did not take the Land Commission long to decide the claim was faulty, but Judge Ogden Hoffman struggled with it in the district court at great length before he could bring himself to reject it. When it reached the supreme court, however, it was speedily rejected on the ground that the conflicting testimony raised more questions than it answered, that the testimony of former Mexican officials could not make up for lack of documentary evidence, and that the title papers were both fabricated and antedated.³¹ By that time, however, Larkin's interest had passed to Palmer Cook & Co., whose banking record in the past was full of misfortune for the city and people of San Francisco.³²

Larkin's interest in the Punta de Lobos claim again put him squarely in conflict with José Limantour's claim for much of San Francisco, and his letters show him in the leadership of the fight against Limantour (though his own claim was defective and was to be rejected). In 1854, Gregory Yale, a land attorney in San Francisco, tried to collect \$5,000 from him for preparing evidence in opposition to

Limantour's efforts, though the final defeat of the claims was still four years away.³³

Larkin was no more successful in his purchase of the Orchard of the Santa Clara Mission from Benito Diaz. The fifteen-acre orchard had been granted to three *Californios*, including Benito Diaz, just five days after the date of the Punta de Lobos grant and apparently had been conveyed to Larkin by early 1847. Vague references to it in his correspondence suggesting that Larkin might gain some advantage in title adjudication by some underhanded action were met with scornful repudiation. When the claim came before Hoffman in the district court in 1858, it was rejected because of contradictory statements by witnesses and because it had been made without authority.³⁴

Before Larkin's consulship was eliminated by American acquisition of California, he and his children had an interest in, if not full ownership of 149,000 California acres. In addition he had bought the orchards of Missions San Jose and Santa Clara and lots and improvements in Monterey and San Francisco that were his most valuable possessions. Subsequent purchases of an interest in Huichicha, Cienega de Gabilan, Pleyto, and Punta de Pinos brought the total acreage in which at one time or another he had an interest to 230,000 acres. Of this amount 115,402 acres were confirmed to him, and his titles to other ranchos proved to be good, though patented after his death to others. In fact, Larkin had played the role of a broker in numerous transactions, his interest at times being the expected commission. In a letter to his half-brother he explained this role while accounting his efforts to sell the Henry Cambuston claim of eleven leagues on the Upper Sacramento, which was heavily involved in debt. In the same letter he wrote that he was trying to buy the title to one of the Munrás ranchos in Monterey County.³⁵

Larkin was sufficiently informed about Mexican land law to know that grants under the laws of 1824 and 1828 required occupation and improvement. He had a small house built on his Boga rancho, stocked the children's rancho with 500 cattle, 245 mares and colts, and \$1,000 worth of tools and implements, making a total investment in 1847 of \$4,620. To his Jimeno rancho he sent a farmer provided with a crosscut saw, a grindstone, a "hand mill," cattle, sheep, horses, geese, and turkeys. Throughout his life he continued to invest funds and attention to his farming operations, and in his last year (1858) he was assembling 125 horses, 508 cattle, and a dozen "very fine" American bulls to expand his livestock operations. Concerned with livestock quality, he instructed his hands to alter every native bull.³⁶

Aware of the possibility of repudiation, it was the Americans who either had taken out Mexican citizenship and received grants by 1846, or, like Larkin, had bought claims from Mexicans who hurried to secure their titles before the Land Commission and the courts in the years of early statehood. Many of the older Californians were slow to bring their titles to trial. Of the first dozen to be patented by December 18, 1857, nine were for men of American stock.³⁷ Larkin, too, was anxious, and his correspondence reveals his anxiety to gain confirmation of his claims as speedily as possible. His children's rancho was the eleventh to be patented, in 1857; Cotati was patented in 1858, Huichicha in 1859, Jimeno in 1862, Boga in 1865, Cienega de Gabilan in 1867, and Pleyto in 1872. (Only 148 claims had been patented by 1865 when Boga reached that stage.) Larkin's titles

had been approved by the courts even earlier, but boundary questions had caused delay in patenting. When the titles to the children's rancho and to Boga had been confirmed by the lower courts and further appeal to the supreme court had been dismissed on recommendation of the attorney general as unquestionably valid, Larkin wrote "I appear lucky," but it was more than luck. He had been careful to retain his papers in good order and, unlike other claimants to ranchos, he had not aroused bitter opposition by his treatment of squatters. Moreover, Larkin had the adjudication of his claims well started toward patent while the supreme court's Frémont-Mariposa decision with its extremely liberal position and near repudiation of past cases still stood. While Larkin's two orchard claims and the two questionable claims in San Francisco were rejected, it is doubtful that he had invested heavily in either of them.³⁸

Confirmation of title and patenting did not enable Larkin to dispose of his property readily, as he may have wished. Squatters had quickly moved on to his land and made their meager improvements while contesting his titles. Unusual among property speculators, Larkin preferred to come to terms with the squatters by buying out their rights or making leasing arrangements with them.³⁹ In consequence, he succeeded in avoiding much of the bitter land warfare which raged so violently in the city of Sacramento and in Sonoma, Alameda, and Santa Clara counties.

In personal letters Larkin related in his usual homely phrases how he outmaneuvered twenty or thirty squatters on his Huichicha rancho. Here he had some 4,800 acres of the best land surveyed and offered the squatters their choice of it at \$10 an acre.

They held in Sonoma a junto or caucus or indignation meeting, published their resolves to do justice to all (particular to themselves), and said among other things they would give on an average 5\$ per acre. I answered this in the Sonoma Print—offering to 4\$ on an average, that is on the whole. I found some 15 or 20 of them one afternoon about my Sonoma Hotel where myself and clerk were stopping—we had a hard & soft talk, a loud & low one. They would do this and they wouldn't that. Some was a little tight, some not.

Larkin told them that he had the upper hand, since he would hold to his offer but he knew that some of them would not hold to their demands. "I can hold faith with *myself*," he shrewdly observed, "but you can't with each other for fear some of you will be coming to me alone, I keeping your location over your heads." He then invited the squatters to have a drink or two at his expense "and then we'll have a quiet talk (a loud one) all about it." As a result, he triumphantly reported, he "broke the Band." A few bought that evening, others the next day, and in a week he had sold 3,000 acres at his original price of \$10 an acre, giving six, twelve and eighteen months for payments. Only one-tenth of them held out for any length of time.⁴⁰

Squatters on the children's rancho on the Sacramento River for a time, at least, seemed not to be as easily manipulated. By 1852 nine families lived on the property, and one had built a small clapboard house and claimed a preemption right to the land. Larkin's agent worriedly reported that the squatter threatened "to play hell with all hands" if his rights were not recognized, and that all the squatters were "cutting about the finest timber on the Ranch" but being very careful to do

their lumbering operations beyond their individual claims.⁴¹ Squatters, wrote his agent, "with considerable improvements have no faith in grants and disdain the idea of govt allowing one man to hold so much land. Next, old man Dean, sons and son-in-laws, out & out squatters, deny your right to hold lands. . . . When I notified Mr. Dean that the land was private property, his reply was that Congress would give him the land in spite of you."⁴² After the confirmation of Larkin's title by the Land Commission in 1854 and by the district court two years later and the abandonment of further appeals by the government, increasing interest was shown by squatters in coming to terms with Larkin. Revealing of his effort to avoid violent clashes is his purchase of the improvements on a 140-acre tract on the children's rancho. He paid \$1,000 in 1857 for the "very good oak worm fence, out houses and 100 hogs, 100 pigs," and he hoped to be able to "buy out some other persons."⁴³ The fact that he tolerated such extensive improvements on his land indicates a degree of acceptance of squatter's rights quite unlike that of most other large landowners.

At one time there seemed a prospect that Larkin's fortune, already large by California standards, might be greatly enhanced by the sale of his Boga rancho for its mining possibilities to English capitalists. Located on the Feather River below Oroville and near the Sierra foothills, Boga was regarded by its optimistic promoters, a group of New York brokers and dealers in highly speculative property, as saleable for amounts ranging from one to four million dollars. The promoters, however, were in competition with representatives of Frémont who had authorized the sale of his great bullion-producing Mariposa rancho. The clashing interests of the Fremont and Larkin representatives doubtless caused at least some of the bitterness later shown by John and Jessie Frémont toward Larkin.⁴⁴ One report of 1853 intimated that Boga had been sold for a million dollars, but this later proved to be unfounded. In fact, the claim did not extend into the mining country, and the valley land did not come into extensive demand, other than by squatters, for some time. While there had been some mining in the stream beds of Boga and efforts had been made to test the possibilities in quartz, in Larkin's lifetime miners concentrated on more promising areas.⁴⁵ It is interesting that Larkin later felt that he had been imposed upon by New York sharpers who had involved him in considerable expense without any return. Surely he had not displayed his usual caution in authorizing efforts to make the sale in England.⁴⁶

Larkin did well in the sale of portions of his ranchos and could expect, had he lived beyond 1858, to profit much more from them. The expansion of his mercantile fortune however, rested mostly on the speedy turnover of his fortunate investments in San Francisco. Unlike less cautious and, ultimately, unsuccessful speculators including Sam Brannan, Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson, and W. G. Parker, Larkin did not buy wildly in the excitement of the great sales of lots in 1847 and 1848. Instead, he shrewdly foresaw that the lots acquired by M. G. Vallejo and James Alexander Forbes would soon be in demand, and he quietly acquired them for moderate sums together with one 100-vara lot, eight 50-vara lots, and seven beach and water lots. Already he had made a major commitment to San Francisco by joining with two others in constructing the first wharf for use by the increasing number of ships visiting the Bay City.⁴⁷ Larkin seemed to have an uncanny faculty to determine where growth was assured, and he had the

capital with which to proceed. His improved properties quickly came into intensive demand, and within two years six of his lots, with the buildings he had erected on them, were rented for a total of \$4,000 a month. That same year he bought a 100-vara lot for \$10,000 which he sold three-and-one-half months later for \$32,000. These and other fantastic returns on his city investments and his decision to accept the offer of Charles L. Ross for nine of his lots with buildings for \$300,000 assured Larkin a permanent place on easy street, though he had been financially comfortable for years. The rush of people to California to share in the gold discoveries sent property values in San Francisco to heights few could have foreseen, and, overnight, Larkin and others who had similar foresight profited beyond their most sanguine expectations.⁴⁸

This enormous appreciation in land values and the apparent disposition of his San Francisco lots led the restless Larkin to consider whether he should not close out his California investments altogether and move to the East. He would visit Boston, where he had many economic ties and friendships, but it was in New York City, now the financial capital of the country and a great booming community, that he proposed to establish his residence. Larkin had already sent his children east for their education, and in 1850 he and his wife took passage for New York by way of Panama. In the early 1850's he invested heavily in New York City property, but these investments did not turn out well. His failure, too, to breach the barriers of its higher business circles as well as the *haut monde* disillusioned him, and in 1853 he decided to return to San Francisco for the remainder of his life. He might well have born in mind the sage prediction of his long-time business associate, Jacob P. Leese, who wrote him in September 30, 1850: "I should like to see you back again amongst us, and rais yourself with the great State. Here you will be a lyon and there wil hav to be as cunning as a fox."⁴⁹

Larkin had other strong reasons to make the still dangerous and long trip to New York and Washington by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Not the least of his anxieties was the welfare of his two children. In addition, his investments called for attention in Washington, D.C., including his share of the Frémont claims, which were still unpaid, and his own land claims. Some of the latter were clearly questionable, but Larkin recognized they might be greatly benefitted by the loose-claim legislation then being favored by Thomas Hart Benton and John C. Frémont. Larkin also had a major stake in Benicia which he and others were promoting as the site for the California state capital. Benicia's promoters were pulling all possible wires to have this place made a port of entry, a move that Larkin might aid in Washington. Admission of California as a state and the bill for the adjudication of the Mexican land claims then under consideration were also of strong interest to anyone having as large a stake in them as Larkin did.⁵⁰ Larkin's conservative views made him a natural admirer of Henry Clay, to whom he presented "a beautiful watch chain made, in California, of specimens of native gold from the Placers. . . ." Clay acknowledged "this highly acceptable present" made in the midst of the debates over the admission of California and the move to make Benicia a port of entry.⁵¹

Another reason for Larkin's trip to the East was to counteract scurrilous attacks which had been directed at him for presenting claims for the \$29,206 he had lent to Frémont and his battalion and to officers of the naval vessels stopping at Mon-

terey.⁵² The sum probably included his usual 100 to 300 per cent profit and was doubtless somewhat inflated, as were most of the claims Frémont and other officers had incurred, but it was true that Larkin and other capitalists had provided funds to Frémont when they deemed it essential for the American cause. Larkin hired an attorney to aid him in lobbying with Congress to secure payment. His correspondence does not throw much light on his personal lobbying, and he was not notably successful, later suffering the mortification of having most of his claim rejected.⁵³ Larkin was in Washington, too, when Congress was debating plans for adjudicating the California land claims, and he doubtless listened with anxiety to the arguments of the group advocating easy confirmation and those recommending the traditional method of commission and court trial.

Meanwhile, back in California towns and cities were being projected at many likely spots that seemed to their promoters to promise rapid growth and liberal returns on investments. None was more effectively advertised and actively promoted than Benicia on Carquinez Straits off San Pablo Bay. Its principal promoters were Larkin, Robert Semple, and Bethuel Phelps, all men of standing and considerable means. Having purchased the site of Benicia from M. G. Vallejo and drawn up elaborate plans for the prospective city, they advertised it widely, being assured, so they said, that it possessed advantages over San Francisco. They hoped to have Benicia made a port of entry and to locate the customs house and supply depots of both the army and navy there. They also hoped to make Benicia the state capital, to secure aid for a railroad to connect Benicia with Marysville, one of the principal mining centers, to develop the port as a shipping center and to persuade the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. to operate there. The promoters, including Larkin, moved on all these fronts and came close to gaining all their objectives.

Larkin cultivated both Major (and Governor) Persifer F. Smith of the United States Army and Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, commander of the United States Pacific squadron, who were in positions to favor Benicia. Within three days after Major Smith arrived as commander of the military forces in California and Oregon in 1849, he was caught up in the excitement about Benicia. He informed Larkin that he wanted to buy a lot for a residence for himself and that he wished to invest in five or ten additional lots on which to put stores. In addition, he proposed to establish the quartermaster's supply depot at Benicia, for which he asked Larkin for a cession of land, stating that if it were not so used the property would be returned.⁵⁴ By 1851, the *Alta California* could report that the Army was quartered at Benicia.⁵⁵ Major Smith bought for himself a portion of the Solano-Suscol rancho which included the site of Benicia,⁵⁶ and the title to Suscol was confirmed by the district court, later to be rejected by the supreme court.

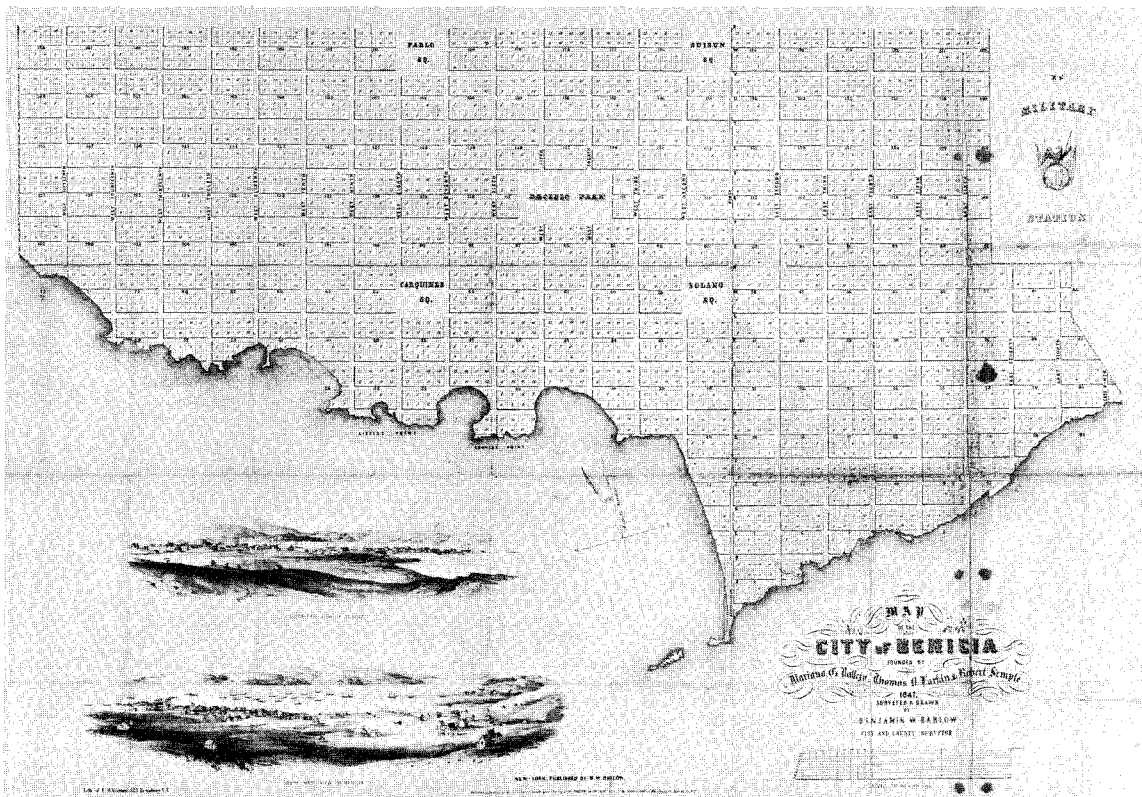
Commodore Jones was likewise assimilated into the group of Benicia's promoters. He studied the water routes to San Francisco and Benicia, made soundings, and convinced himself that the latter site was both easier of access and safer. He apparently convinced Robert Semple that when the headquarters of the squadron was moved to Benicia, it would sound the "death warrant" of San Francisco.⁵⁷ To enable him to share in the enterprise Larkin sold the commodore two blocks and ten lots, the latter at \$50 each in January, 1849. (They were said to be worth \$500 to \$1,500 each by May.) He also distributed seventeen outlying

lots among officers of the ships using the site of Benicia. To receive support in Washington for the move to make Benicia a port of entry, the commodore gave to Senator Pierre Soulé, a member of the committee on commerce, a report of his findings showing the advantages and safety of the water route to Benicia over that to San Francisco with its hidden rocks and shoals. While on his eastern trip, Larkin did his share of lobbying, according to the *Alta California*, by inducing the insurance companies of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia to memorialize Congress in behalf of making Benicia a port of entry. Larkin had the assistance of Rodman Price who had a stake in both San Francisco and Benicia but who had returned to his home in New Jersey and was elected to Congress in 1850.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, of all the cities, actual or planned, being promoted for the site of the state capital and other plums from the federal government, Benicia was the most detested by residents of San Francisco because of the belief that its success endangered their welfare. Clearly, the *Alta California* reflected this position. It looked upon San Jose and Monterey with favor and was not troubled about the schemes of the promoters of Vallejo and New York on the Pacific, but Benicia's promoters touched a sensitive nerve. At various times, the *Alta* called Benicia "one of the most prodigious humbugs of the day," that "essentially stupid stale and most unprofitable attempt at speculation in town lots. . . ." Taking a highly moral tone it declared that "the project of locating the Capital merely to build up a city around it and thus make real estate valuable" reduced the state to a "subserviency to the plans of speculators" and was "not only absurd, but wicked—wicked if it be done for that purpose or through such influence."⁵⁹

To make Benicia a port of entry with a custom house and collector of customs might have seriously affected San Francisco for the moment, but in the end the *Alta* did not have to worry; the advantages of the Bay City were too obvious. Furthermore, despite the intervention of Commodore Jones and Thomas O. Larkin, no support in Congress could be mustered for making Benicia a port of entry, though an appropriation of \$150,000 for a floating drydock which might be located there and \$73,985 for the purchase of a site and construction at Benicia in 1851–1855 indicates that the place was not without influential friends.⁶⁰

Undaunted, Larkin and Phelps continued to promote efforts to make Benicia the capital of California. While Larkin was in the East, he reported, his agent and manager of his properties was "very busy . . . electioneering for the removal of the seat of government from Vallejo to Benicia and have at last succeeded." To accomplish the removal he hired a skilled lobbyist, "agreeing to give him \$2,500. to bring it about." The agent said the removal could not be accomplished without the aid of Major Graham who had the pledge of a majority of the senators for an alternative site at Vallejo in which Graham was largely interested.⁶¹ "I also agreed to give him (to be deeded to the members, they not willing to be known in the transaction) twenty-five lots in B—but they are mostly of little value," wrote the agent. The Sacramento people, as well, were said to have used every exertion to gain the prize, including the hire of a steamboat loaded with provisions and liquor which were free to all, at the sponsors' expense of \$13,000.⁶² The city of Benicia appropriated \$3,000 to secure the removal of the capital, and Larkin's agent took \$500 of the scrip Benicia floated for that purpose. Larkin was informed that James McDougall, a stockholder in the Benicia and Marysville Railroad who had just



Landholder and co-founder Larkin actively promoted Benicia on the Carquinez Straits for the site of the state capital. This 1847 map, replete with picturesque views of the town and its harbor, likely served as promotional material for his lobbying efforts in Washington, D.C.

been elected to Congress, would “try to get an appropriation from Congress” to aid in its construction.⁶³

All these activities, including the location of the capital at Benicia (from which it was shortly removed because of lack of accommodations) and the building of docks and machine shops for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the United States arsenal, brought a considerable growth of population to Benicia and returns to its promoters, but, alas, the predictions of Semple, the favorable actions of Major Smith and Commodore Jones, and Larkin’s lobbying did not pay off to the anticipated degree. Benicia survived only as a very small and out of the way community.⁶⁴ Disappointed, Larkin turned to promoting other areas in which he owned property—Sonoma, Sacramento, Monterey, and Los Angeles—but his correspondence does not reveal the same efforts on their behalf that he gave to his Benicia and San Francisco holdings.

Unfortunately, Larkin left no account of his role in the legislative battle in

Sacramento culminating in the Settlers Act of 1856 which was intended to protect settlers regarding the improvements they had made on unsurveyed Mexican land claims. Until that time squatters had exercised their traditional American right of settling upon and improving unsurveyed unclaimed public land without establishing formal private ownership. Their "squatter" improvements enhanced the value of their land, and Mexican land claimants began seeking to include them as part of their large claims. Litigation, ejectment, damage suits, mob action, and destruction of property led to an increasing demand by the growing settler party for legislation to assure the settlers the value of their improvements in the event of ejectment. Between 1852 and 1856 settler proposals were annually introduced into the legislature, and bitter fights ensued, but not until 1856 was the movement of sufficient strength to bring victory. The measure introduced in 1856 was one of the most liberal in the long array of settler legislation by colonies and states since the seventeenth century. It stated that all land should be deemed public until the legal title was shown to have passed from the government, that actual and peaceable possession of land (whether by claimants or squatters) should be evidence of a right to such possession, that a Mexican claimant's title to a Mexican grant could only assure right to the possession or use of the land from the date of patent, and that the usual methods of determining rights should be used. If the claim owner's title to the land proved good, he was required either to pay the squatters on his land the value of their improvements as determined by a jury and to permit them to harvest their growing crops or to sell to the settler title to the land he had improved as valued by a jury without the improvements. The owner could expect compensation from the squatter for his occupation of the land since the date of the patent. Amendments provided that settlers could not claim the benefit of improvements put on land after the confirmation of the title to the claim by the claim commission nor compensation for any improvements within areas fenced by the claimants.⁶⁵ The act was adopted at the peak of settler discontent about the way in which courts and sheriffs had used their powers to protect the interests of owners of Mexican land claims. Furthermore, while a considerable number of these claims proved fraudulent, claimants had often managed to extract from settlers rents and even income from sales for a number of years.

Large land owners, particularly Pablo de la Guerra whose family had claims to 374,000 acres, José María Covarrubias who had two claims for 68,000 acres that were to be confirmed, and Joseph L. Brent, a prominent Southern Californian who was active in the courts in defense of the large claims, led the opposition in the legislature to the settlers' bill. Larkin also appears to have lobbied in opposition. Writing from Sacramento to Abel Stearns just two weeks before the act was adopted, Larkin said he was there "to see the wire pulling for the Settlers Bill and if possible wish to have one pull at it my way."⁶⁶ After a bitter fight the measure was adopted but Larkin seemed not to have been unduly troubled because, as he wrote after its enactment, "the Settlers do not have much faith in their Bill." As it turned out, the measure did not stand the test of the state supreme court which, however, had to go back to the discredited *Green v. Biddle* decision of the United States Supreme Court of 1823 for authority to strike it down.⁶⁷ Kentucky, whose statute had then been invalidated, had reenacted it and, indeed, made it a tighter measure, and between 1823 and 1856 at least thirteen other states and territories

had adopted similar measures. The major difference between the California occupying tenants' law and those of other states (many of which had been in operation for as much as a half-century) was that other states conceded the right of recovery to settlers only if they had some color of title, *i.e.* a tax title. If the California measure had been more carefully drafted in the light of experience elsewhere, it might have stood the onslaught of the land owners. Occupancy legislation was before the people of California for years to come but the settlers were never again to muster as much support as they had in 1856.⁶⁸

A large land holder like Pablo de la Guerra thought the settlers bill bad enough, but the revenue bill for the same session was, he declared, even more dangerous.⁶⁹ His difficulty—and that of most large owners of land in Southern California—was that he lacked the capital to develop his extensive holdings and the possibility of selling it or otherwise drawing revenue from it because population growth was still restricted to the northern portion of the state. Two acts of 1856 increased the state tax on each \$100 of taxable property (land, improvements, and livestock) by 10¢ and authorized the board of supervisors of Santa Barbara County to levy a special tax of 25¢ to 75¢ on each \$100 of real or personal property for the extinguishment of the county debt.⁷⁰ Larkin, unlike land holders in the South, derived from sales in Northern California more than enough money to pay his taxes and seems not to have been troubled by the burden.

Ever alert to new and promising business opportunities, Larkin never confined his business activities to merchandising, mining, and real estate. In 1851 he became an organizer and director of the Pacific and Atlantic Rail Road Company which was planned to lay track from San Jose to San Francisco. Two years later he joined with Sam Brannan in a petition to the city of San Francisco for a franchise to build a street railway from Market Street to Vallejo or Guerrero streets and thence to the city limits where it would connect with the projected Pacific and Atlantic Railroad.⁷¹ Prospects looked favorable for early construction of these lines, but the business decline of 1854–1855 caused the projects to lapse. With extensive investments in Monterey, Larkin was naturally interested in a projected railroad to connect that city with some point on the San Joaquin River, and he became a member of the executive committee of the company to build it.⁷² He was also the second largest stockholder in the San Francisco & Sacramento Railroad (Theodore Judah being the first) and actively participated in plans for a transcontinental railroad.⁷³ In 1853 he subscribed to 200 shares of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad headquartered in New York.⁷⁴ In 1854, he publicly participated in a mass meeting—one of the largest mass meetings that ever assembled in San Francisco—on behalf of a Pacific railroad.⁷⁵ He served as president of the abortive California Steam Packet Company and owned shares in the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which circumstance may have been helpful in inducing the company to establish its iron works and machine shops at Benicia as the “first large industrial enterprise in California.”⁷⁶

“The First and Last Consul,” as John Hawgood loved to call Larkin, died in 1858 at the age of fifty-six, leaving property estimated to be worth from \$300,000 to \$500,000. His will provided small bequests for a brother-in-law and nineteen cousins, to the more unfortunate of whom he had already given generous aid. The balance of his estate went to his wife and children, save for a \$400 bequest to

Mt. Auburn cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts.⁷⁷ Earlier, he had given one hundred acres for the location of a college on his Huichicha rancho.⁷⁸

Larkin's life in California spans the era from the arrival of Massachusetts traders in Mexican California through the war with Mexico to the resolution of conflicting land claims resulting from the sale and transfer of Upper California from one nation's people to another. A study of his business career illuminates the complicated process by which *Californios* lost and skillful Yankee speculators won control of the land in the new state.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS are courtesy The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

NOTES

1. Adcle Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley, 1911), pp. 155-182 and elsewhere.

2. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast*, with additional documents, edited by John Haskell Kemble (2 vols., Los Angeles, 1964) I:xiv and 2:393. William Heath Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California* (San Francisco, 1929), pp. 107-110 and 154-157, contains a frank treatment of the common practice of ship captains and importers to evade the payment of duties on the landing of goods in California. He concluded that "those who were transgressors of the law . . . were not considered as law-breakers in any odious sense, but were in entire good standing in the community, and were, to a certain extent, benefiting the people and doing a service to the country." The New England conscience was well under control.

3. Stearns and Temple were called "immensely rich" by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., in 1859. Robert F. Lucid, *The Journal of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.* (3 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968), 3:848. William Heath Davis, another Bostonian who was early involved in California maritime trade, left materials for his *Seventy Five Years in California* which provides much information on trade between California and the Sandwich Islands, China, and New England.

4. Davis, *Seventy Five Years in California*, introduction by Douglas S. Watson, xxxviii-xxxix.; Royce, *California from the Conquest in 1846 to The Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco* (New York, 1948), p. 127. Royce's judgment of Larkin, though it is stated in somewhat saccharin terms, is apt, but Royce's emotions carried him away from sober judgment on Frémont and on the role of the squatters.

5. The ten-volume *Larkin Papers* plus the indispensable index volume were published by the University of California Press for the Bancroft Library over the course of 1951-1968. John A. Hawgood has published additional Larkin letters and located some others in his *First and Last Consul. Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California. A Selection of Letters* (San Marino, 1962).

6. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Register of Pioneer Inhabitants of California, 1542-1848* (Los Angeles, 1964), pp. 706-707. This *Register of Pioneer Inhabitants* was extracted from Bancroft's *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco, 1885-1890), vols. 2-5. References are hereafter made to the *Register*. Reuben L. Underhill, *From Cow Hides to Golden Fleece. A Narrative of California, 1832-1858* (Stanford University, 1939), is useful, though lacking in critical appraisal. The author has bowdlerized the Larkin letters he quotes.

7. Joseph Warren Revere, *Naval Duty in California* (Oakland, 1947), p. 81; Robert J. Parker, "Larkin's Monterey Business; Articles of Trade, 1833-1839," *Historical Society of Southern California, Quarterly*, XXIV:54-65 (March, 1942).

8. Donald M. Craig, *William Robert Garner Letters from California, 1846-1847* (Berkeley, 1970), p. 181.

9. Larkin to Faxon Dean Atherton, February 12, 1843, in Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed., "Six New Larkin Letters," *Southern California Quarterly*, 49:72 (March, 1967).

10. Bancroft, *Pioneer Register*, 706. Robert J. Parker lists "Larkin's Monterey Customers," in *Historical Society of Southern California, Quarterly*, 24:41-53 (June, 1942). Parker offers detail

about Larkin's trade at his Monterey store which was called a "grog-shop" because of the amount of intoxicants sold, in "Larkin's Monterey Business: Articles of Trade, 1833-1839," *Historical Society of Southern California, Quarterly*, 24:54-62 (June, 1942).

11. Larkin's fees from April 2, 1844, to December 31, 1844, were \$110.50 and from July 1, 1845, to December 31, 1845, were \$257. *Larkin Papers*, 34:: 4:144.

12. *Larkin Papers*, 6:36, 48-52, 61, 229.

13. *Larkin Papers*, 5:19. Rayner W. Kelsey, in his *United States Consulate in California* (Academy of Pacific Coast History, vol. 1, no. 5, Berkeley, 1910), p. 89, says one account he used maintained that when Mrs. Larkin was ill some years after her marriage "she was baptized into the Catholic church at the earnest solicitation of friends." At the same time, so Kelsey's source says, Larkin and his wife "went through the Catholic marriage ceremony in order to be sure that the children would be legal heirs." If such action was taken it may possibly have been done to enable the children to receive the "The Children's Rancho."

14. *Larkin Papers*, 3:36. In his relations with John C. Frémont and Commodore Richard Field Stockton, Larkin showed the same tendency to curry favor with authority. This is notably true as revealed in a letter to Stockton of April 13, 1847, in which he explained in detail why he did not arrange to go south for a meeting called by Stockton for a California assembly and then accounted for his inability to let Stockton have a share in the Jimeno grant he had purchased. He offered another favor, a beautifully designed poncho with elaborate silver embroidery, that would "draw the attention of the whole field" at New Jersey race courses. *Larkin Papers*, 6:100-101.

15. Jimeno rancho was spoken of as a nine league grant and in the contract for the sale of Larkin's half share of June 22, 1852, it is called nine leagues. Yet in Hoffman's *Report of Land Cases* and the "Corrected Report of Spanish and Mexican Grants in California," eleven leagues or 48,854 acres are specifically given. *Larkin Papers*, 9:111 and Larkin to Faxon Dean Atherton, New York, January 14, 1853, in Nunis, "Six Larkin Letters," 88.

16. *Larkin Papers*, 6:50, 7:95, 99; 8:285.

17. *Alta California*, October 27, 28, 1857.

18. Larkin to Stearns, April 13, 24, 1855, and May 31, 1856, Stearns MSS., Huntington Library; *Larkin Papers*, 10:252, 339. Hartman continued to represent the claim after Larkin's death and the sale of his right in it to Jesse D. Carr. His terms were that he should carry the case to the supreme court and if successful he would receive two leagues (8,856 acres) in full compensation. Larkin was very close in allowing fees to attorneys and would surely not have approved granting two-elevenths of Cienega unless he was assured it was a doubtful claim. Fearing unfavorable action by the supreme court and hoping not to have to take the case before it, Hartman advised delaying action because of evidence of forgery in the papers, or at least this was the testimony of Carr. Carr declared in a later case before the California supreme court that he was aware the title papers of Cienega were forged and that he had paid \$5,000 to another lawyer to prevent the court from rehearing the case. He was trying to evade the payment of his attorney's fee, and how much reliance one can place on his testimony is uncertain. *Ballard v. Carr*, 48 *California*, 75. Cienega was confirmed by Judge Ogier of the southern district court who gave land claims coming before him much less careful consideration than did Judge Hoffman in the northern district. Carr later arranged with the agent for the location of the California Agricultural College lands, whereby lands would be withheld for him until he had determined to buy them, thus in effect avoiding competition. Jesse D. Carr, San Francisco, October 23, 1872, to H. A. Higley, University of California Archives. Also see *San Francisco Daily Evening Post*, March 8, 1876.

19. *Larkin Papers*, 7:312, 332, 357.

20. William T. Sherman in his *Memoirs of Gen. William T. Sherman* (2 vols., New York, 1891), 1:43, speaks of the Fossat company in its early period as the "Larkin Company." The large-minded Walter Colton, who came as a navy chaplain to California, seems to have had an interest in a mercury mine, possibly the same one in which Larkin had invested, and also owned property in Monterey. For Larkin's part in the mercury mine see *Larkin Papers*, 7:232, 261, 264, and 10:280; *House Ex. Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 5, serial 573, no. 17, pp. 547, 551; Kenneth M. Johnson, *The New Almaden Quick-Silver Mine* (Georgetown, California, 1963), pp. 31-32.

21. *Larkin Papers*, 10:341.

22. *Larkin Papers*, 6:360-361; 8:360.

23. *Larkin Papers*, 9 47-48, 71.

24. Larkin, Monterey, June 14, 1845, to Abel Stearns, Stearns MSS., The Huntington Library, and to William A. Leidesdorff, September 21, 1846, Leidesdorff MSS., The Huntington Library.

25. J. L. Folsom, San Francisco, August 31, 1846, to General T. S. Jessup in Folsom Papers, Bancroft Library; *House Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 5, serial 573, no. 17, especially 178–180. Colonel J. D. Stevenson, writing to Halleck on September 7, 1847, said: “It is a matter of common notoriety here, that grants of land were made by Pío Pico to the following individuals: Pliny F. Temple, W. Workman, Antonio Cota, R. Den, Benj. Wilson, H. Reid, and others, the deeds being made out and signed on or about August 9, 1846, “or well after American control had been established.”

26. *Larkin Papers*, 6:229.

27. Larkin to C. V. Gillespie, March 16, 1847 (or 1848), *Larkin Papers*, vii:182.

28. December 5, 1857.

29. The consideration may have been \$20,000 and lots estimated to be worth \$30,000. *Larkin Papers*, vii:192; viii:286, 295, 297.

30. Larkin to Stearns, June 17, 1854, Stearns MSS., *HEH*. Two years later the Diaz claim was assessed at \$500,000, the Limantour claim at \$5,000,000, and the Bolton & Barron claim at \$2,000,000. *Alta California*, February 1, 6, 1855.

31. Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases*, 216 ff., and 65 *U.S. Reports*, 126. No evidence has been found that Frémont had any interest in the Lobos claim, though he was deeply involved with Palmer, Cook & Co.

32. The \$500,000 assessment on Punta de Lobos in 1856, though it already had been rejected by the Land Commission, suggests how much was at stake. *Alta California* in *Sacramento Union*, February 2, 1856.

33. *Larkin Papers*, 10:12.

34. *Larkin Papers*, 6:25, 31, 35; *Federal Cases*, Book 14, pp. 1150 ff. There is some evidence that it was the orchard of Santa Clara (or possibly San Jose) Mission that Frémont had hoped to acquire when he turned over to Larkin \$3,000 for the purchase of a rancho. Apparently Frémont and his wife Jessie were distressed that they did not get the orchard, though they were later to be content, instead, with Mariposa. But Jessie's indignation was revived when she learned that Larkin had acquired a claim to the orchard. The *Alta California* of January 16, 1848, declared that Larkin had retained his interest in the orchard with J. W. Redmond in 1858.

35. The Munrás ranchos were San Vicente (19,979 acres) and Laguna Seca (2,179 acres), both being patented in 1865. *Larkin Papers*, 10:341. An inventory of Larkin's real estate as of 1847, lists six ranchos containing thirty-three leagues (Boga, Children's, Cotati, Jimeno, Punta de Lobos and one league of Carmel), his mansion house, hospital house, Cole house, eighteen lots in Monterey and San Francisco, and one half of the five square miles included in the town of Benicia which he seems to have appraised at a total of \$50,000. This does not appear to include the improvements he was currently putting on his San Francisco and Benicia lots.

36. *Larkin Papers*, 6:50, 113, 148, 154, 270; 7:15, 10:346–349.

37. Frémont received the first patent, for Mariposa. Four patents were given to men born in Massachusetts, one each from Maine, New Jersey, North Carolina and Georgia, and one whose birthplace is not identified. The dates of the patenting of the grants are in “Corrected Report of Spanish and Mexican Grants in California complete to February 25, 1886, prepared by California State Surveyor General,” Published as a Supplement to his official *Report of 1882–1884*.

38. *Larkin Papers*, 10:343.

39. *Larkin Papers*, x:345.

40. Larkin to Faxon Dean Atherton, New York, January 14, 1853, in Nunis, “Six Larkin Letters,” 88. Cf. *Larkin Papers*, X:174 for a somewhat different result.

41. *Larkin Papers*, 9:83.

42. *Larkin Papers*, 9:127–8.

43. *Larkin Papers*, 10:345.

44. John Hawgood (*First and Last Consul Thomas Larkin and the Americanization of California*, xxxvi ff.), was unduly troubled about this bitterness as reflected in Josiah Royce, *California From the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco*. Royce wrote with deep emotion and was extremely careless with language, resorting to “caustic” and “violent” attacks on those whose action he deplored, as Allan Nevins has shown in *Frémont: Pathmarker of the West*,

282–283. His attack upon the squatters for their efforts to “defraud” the *Californios* which were “atrociously wicked,” and amounted to “legal spoliation” and were the “devil’s instrument” (Royce, *California*, 368–370) are illustrative of the violence of the attacks upon the squatters and upon the California Land Act of 1851, which Royce quite misunderstood. See Paul W. Gates, “The California Land Act of 1851,” *California Historical Quarterly*, 50:395–430 (December, 1971).

45. *Larkin Papers*, 9:208, 228; 10:175–178.

46. Larkin and others associated with him in this venture seem to have been extraordinarily naive in assuming that English capitalists would fall for blandishments of owners of a California claim, as yet unconfirmed and showing no positive evidence of mining possibilities other than placer mining. See the correspondence of Larkin, J. H. Wainwright, George E. Baldwin, J. B. Knapp, and Henry S. Stebbins in volume 9 of the *Larkin Papers*.

47. In addition to numerous letters about the purchase of the Forbes and Vallejo lots see Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1852), and *Senate Executive Documents*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., serial 589, no. 18, pp. 133–134; *Larkin Papers*, 3:302.

48. Argument on Land Values in Rodman Price MSS., University of California at Los Angeles, Manuscript Division; *Larkin Papers*, 8:pp. xi ff. For terms of contract with Ross, see 262 ff.

49. *Larkin Papers*, 8:262–292, 347. Faxon Dean Atherton, another long-time friend of Larkin of whom he was asking for information about real estate investments in the Bay City, said in February 23, 1854, “You I believe never lose, except when you exchange property in Montgomery St. for houses in New York.” *Larkin Papers*, 10:25.

50. Larkin was in Washington when the California land bills were under consideration. He mentioned the Benton and Gwin bills, saying “It’s impossible for us to foretell whether Govt. will construe titles by the letter or by the spirit; if the former, it will prove bad for many landholders.” Unlike William Carey Jones, Frémont and Benton, he felt it was not so much the nature of the final act and the procedure for testing the titles that was important, as it was the “spirit” with which the judges undertook their studies. *Larkin Papers*, 8:365. Interestingly John S. Missroon, with whom Larkin had purchased the Jimeno grant, wrote Larkin from St. Louis in March, 1851: “Com. Stockton is in the Senate of the U.S. I think he will be found on the side of the grants.” *Larkin Papers*, 8:411. Stockton’s conservative views on property rights, strengthened by his ownership of a promising claim in Santa Clara County, might well assure his support for generous treatment of the claims. He had not, however, taken his seat at the time the California Land Act was passed.

51. *Larkin Papers*, 8:326. Larkin is also said to have presented a “magnificent sea otter” fur to President Taylor early in 1850. He had also given one to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, in 1847. *Larkin Papers*, 7:105; Underhill, *From Cowhides to Golden Fleece*, 218.

52. Larkin had two sets of claims, one against Mexico for actions he held the Mexican government responsible for before 1846—amounting to \$16,279—and \$29,206 lent Frémont. *Larkin Papers*, 8:364.

53. Underhill, *From Cowhides to Golden Fleece*, 146, 221–222; *Senate Executive Documents*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., vol. 6, serial 751, no. 8, pp. 6 ff.

54. Smith to Larkin, March 2 and April 9, 1849, *Larkin Papers*, 8:166, 206.

55. *Alta California*, January 4, 1851.

56. *Alta California*, August 16, 1853.

57. Semple to Larkin, March 6, 1848, *Larkin Papers*, viii:70.

58. *Larkin Papers*, 8:134, 146, 167, 229; *Alta California*, November 9, 11, 1850. The commodore’s letter to Soulé and Larkin’s lobbying in Washington stirred up a hornet’s nest when news of these activities reached San Francisco, for they were there interpreted as an attack on the City at the Golden Gate. *Alta California*, November 9, 11, 1850. Jones had two full blocks and eight lots, and Price had six lots in Benicia. Notwithstanding his efforts in behalf of this place, Jones had what must have been a larger interest in San Francisco, a loan of \$10,450 on eight 100-vara lots at 5 per cent interest per month. Indenture of July 10, 1850, of David Chandler to Commodore Jones, Halleck, Peachy & Billings MSS., Bancroft Library.

59. *Alta California*, September 3, 27, 28, 1850.

60. Acts of August 5, 1854 and March 3, 1855, 10 *Stat.*, 573, 658. In reply to newspaper attacks for his efforts to make Benicia a port of entry and perhaps to prevent some other worthier cities from gaining that step, Larkin wrote “The procuring a bill for a Port of Entry for Benicia by

every fair and just measure that was in my power is a charge to which I am guilty of as I ever was of any other undertaking of mine," but he went on to deny that he had sought to hurt the chances of any other city. *Larkin Papers*, 8:362.

61. Richard Henry Dana, on his visit to California in 1859, heard that G. M. Vallejo and his son-in-law Captain John B. Frisbie had expended \$10,000 in the construction of public buildings at Vallejo to attract and retain the capital there. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast*, edited with additional documents by John Haskell Kemble, 1:443.

62. *Larkin Papers*, 9:223. William Tecumseh Sherman, while managing a San Francisco bank, came into possession of \$50,000 of Sacramento scrip through a defaulting borrower. The question of payment hung on for some time until in 1858 Sherman agreed to contribute \$1,500 to a move to induce the legislature to adopt a bill to provide for refunding the scrip. "All the best people" in San Francisco "have contributed in like proportion . . .," Sherman wrote. *Clark Sherman*, 337.

63. *Larkin Papers*, 9:156.

64. John Haskell Kemble, *The Panama Route 1848-48* (Berkeley, California, 1943), p. 135.

65. Act of March 26, 1836, *California Laws*, Seventh Session of the Legislature, 1856, p. 54.

66. Larkin to Stearns, Sacramento, March 12, 1856, Stearns MSS., The Huntington Library; *Larkin Papers*, 10:263.

67. *California Reports*, 8 ff.

68. Paul W. Gates, "California's Embattled Settlers," and "Pre-Henry George Land Warfare in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 41:99-139 (June, 1962), and 46:121-148 (June, 1967), and the same writer's "Tenants of the Log Cabin," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 49:18 ff (June, 1962).

69. *Larkin Papers*, 10:255.

70. Acts of April 2, 19, 1856, *California Laws*, Seventh session, 1856, pp. 72, 214.

71. Oscar Osborn Winther, "The Story of San Jose, 1777-1869," Part 3, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 14:165-166 (June, 1935).

72. *Larkin Papers*, 9:26, 42.

73. *Larkin Papers*, 10:211, 236, 275, 310-312.

74. *Larkin Papers*, 9:311.

75. Frank Soulé et al, *The Annals of San Francisco Together with the Continuation, Through 1855* (Palo Alto, 1966), p. 27 of the *Continuation*.

76. *Larkin Papers*, 10:236; John Haskell Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (Berkeley, 1943), p. 135, 145.

77. *Larkin Papers*, 10:59. It was to be called Trinity College of Larkin.

78. For this famous cemetery and its associations with the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, from which it so largely benefitted, see Oakes I. Ames, "Mount Auburn's Sixscore Years," Cambridge Historical Society, *Publications*, 34:77-95 (1951-1952).

Frank Van Sloun: California's Master of the Monotype and the Etching

JOHN MAXWELL DESGREY

Bay area art dealer, appraiser, author, and lecturer

FRANK VAN SLOUN (1879–1938) was undoubtedly one of the finest and most innovative yet least known California graphic artists. Best known in California for his numerous easel and mural paintings, his outstanding graphic achievements in the fields of etchings and monotypes have only recently come to light.

While researching Van Sloun's life and works during the past several years I have catalogued more than 300 of his monotypes and approximately 100 of his etchings, all of which were produced between 1902 and 1938. This great body of graphic works gives evidence that Van Sloun made notable contributions with his monotypes and etchings, having developed new processes for both and achieving effects which have never before been accomplished in the history of these media. Although he learned basic monotype and etching crafts in New York under Robert Henri and William Merritt Chase, Van Sloun's most expressive and innovative work was done after he came to California in 1911.

Under the influence of Henri and John Sloan, Van Sloun executed his first etchings in New York around 1902. One of his earliest was a view of a bridge with tugs and barges as seen from the East River. Another early etching of this period is *In The Tavern*.

Van Sloun said, "My greatest teacher in etching was Rembrandt." Van Sloun admired the soft burr in Rembrandt's best etchings, so he strove for the soft effect rather than the harsh line. This led him to experiment with monotypes, which, in turn, led him to do more experimentation in etching. Through trial and error he mastered the craft of etching, and later began to pursue what he referred to as a "new process" in etching. The secrets of his processes in etching and monotyping died with Van Sloun. His work, however, stands as proof of his success in maintaining control and effects in both media which had never before been achieved. More importantly, the artistic expression of his works demonstrates that he also achieved his ultimate goal as an artist, not merely as a technician.

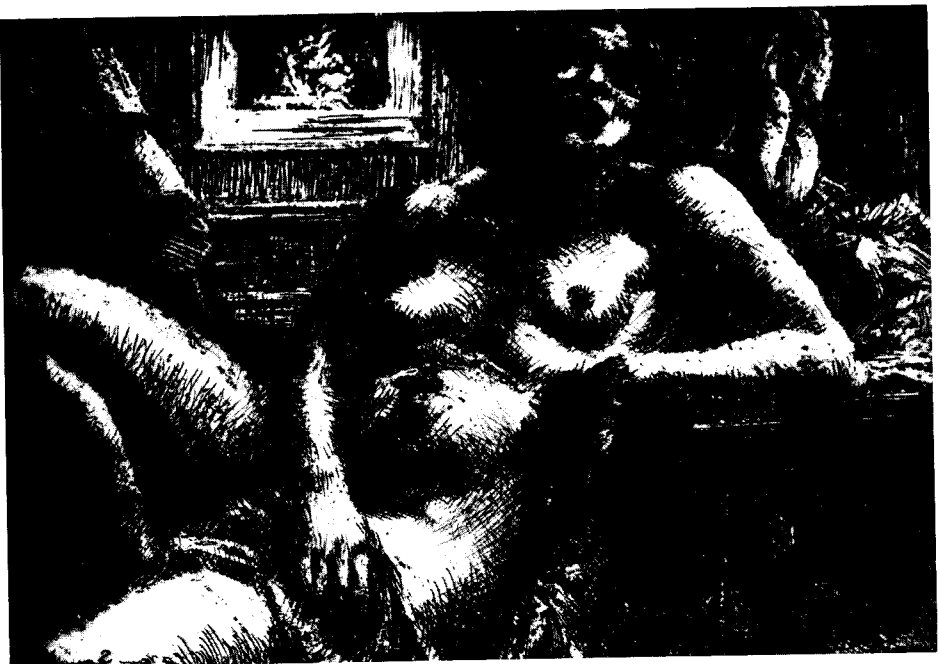
Van Sloun's early etchings are reminiscent of John Sloan's technique and style. Critic Robert Harshe wrote in the book *Art in California*: "Frank Van Sloun's drypoints recall John Sloan's etchings." In technique and style Van Sloun's later

works are quite different. He produced his finest monotypes and etchings during the Depression of the 1930's. *Hard Times*, a monotype (see cover), and *Dark Model*, an etching, are examples of the expressiveness he achieved after rising above the technical limitations of each medium.

Most graphic artists made their etchings from drawings that had been carefully executed on tissue paper, then transferred to the plate. Van Sloun brought craftsmanship and spontaneity to his etchings. He drew directly on the copper or zinc plate, often with no preliminary study or drawing, and he developed superb control, in spite of the fact that the etching process is notoriously unreliable, even in skilled hands. The great French etcher, Charles Meryon, referred to the etcher's acid as "that traitorous liquor." Van Sloun found new methods of applying full strength acid directly to the etching plate without the use of a ground, a wax mask theretofor always used in etching. In so doing he achieved effects that never before had been accomplished in the history of the medium. How Van Sloun was able to control the acid in direct application is a secret that is unknown today. He had a knack for making the effect he wanted with very few corrections in his plates. Seldom did he make more than two or three changes on a plate, and he usually reached the effect he wanted in the first try.

Popular interest in etchings and monotypes is a fairly recent phenomenon. The artist of the early 1900's could hardly support himself from the sale of his prints. Sloan, today considered one of the finest of the American etchers, sold very few of his etchings in his lifetime. This was typical of most graphic artists. Van Sloun's market was further limited by the fact that he was not interested in rendering the architectural subjects which were popular for etchings during the early 1900's. He much preferred American genre and Biblical subjects.

The number of impressions Van Sloun took from each plate was always extremely limited. Though Van Sloun's records sometimes indicate an edition of fifty, he seldom printed more than twenty, and very often he printed no more than five or ten. Because of the difficulties and expense of making a plate and the fact that so few etchings were sold, Van Sloun experimented with the monotype





Van Sloun warily sat for a photographer at the height of his career. Collection of the author.

The early Van Sloun etching "Happy Gathering" (c. 1903) exhibits a more traditional use of line. Collection of the author.



OPPOSITE: Modeling with shadow and light rather than line, "Dark Model" (c. 1929) evidences Van Sloun's modification of the etching technique. Fenton Corporation, San Francisco.



The artist's admiration for Rembrandt reflects in this 1937 etching "Seven Heads—Character Study." Fenton Corporation.

from 1902 to 1937. Interested in the graphic arts throughout his career, Van Sloun exhibited his etchings and monotypes on both the East and West coasts and remained an active member of the California Society of Etchers until his death.

The basic principle of producing a monotype or monoprint has remained the same since the seventeenth century. This process, as the name implies, gives but one print from the plate. The design is not engraved, etched, or cut but is painted on the surface of the smooth plate. Printer's ink or thinned oil paint is used to execute the composition. This is done by painting a design in reverse on a clean plate or by covering the plate evenly with a coating of ink and wiping the light areas with a stiff brush, bit of rag, or a sharp stick. Paper is then laid on the plate and an impression is made either by using a roller over the surface of the paper or by placing the plate and paper through an etching press. Since all the ink is taken up by the paper, another print cannot be made. Even if the inking of the design were done again as before, it could not be identical to the first one; hence each print is unique, a monotype.

Van Sloun was intrigued with the soft focus effect of the monotype, and he was challenged by the obvious problems in creating a perfect monotype because of the accidental nature of the medium. The composition had to be composed in reverse, and only one print was created from each composition. If the paper shifted when placed over the plate, or if the paper did not absorb the ink properly, the image was ruined. In most cases artists ended up saving very few prints because of the accidental nature of the medium.

Sufficiently challenged to overcome the problems of producing a good impression every time, Van Sloun developed special combinations of inks and oil paints that would retain the image and special processes for printing them, which were developed to such a fine degree that he invented a new kind of monotype, never before produced, which he termed the "pen monotype." For the first time in the history of monotypes, the artist was in command of the medium instead of being at its mercy. With his pen monotypes Van Sloun was able to create the preciseness of the etched line with the soft focus effect of a monotype. At first glance his prints appear to be etchings because of the plate mark and preciseness of the composition. In accomplishing this, Van Sloun was able to achieve some of the finest monotypes ever produced in the history of the medium.

Van Sloun's graphic accomplishments reflect middle-America rather than leisure-class women and the architectural subjects so much in vogue in his time. His New York period etchings are traditional, in that they are usually carried by line alone, but in his later California work he made a radical departure from the use of line, and the image was carried by the sharp contrast use of light and dark. In seeming contradiction, Van Sloun's early monotypes are carried by chiaroscuro, whereas in later years he developed his pen monotype which is carried by line alone. All told, Van Sloun, in his graphic works, achieved technical and artistic expressiveness never before known in the history of print making.

As an artist and craftsman, Van Sloun followed no particular school; he was intensely individualistic. His work has universal appeal. As a teacher in California, he had a strong influence on the Society of Six, particularly Louis Siegrist and Bernard von Eichman. His influence helped shape the future of those who were to emerge as the most important figurative realists on the West Coast.

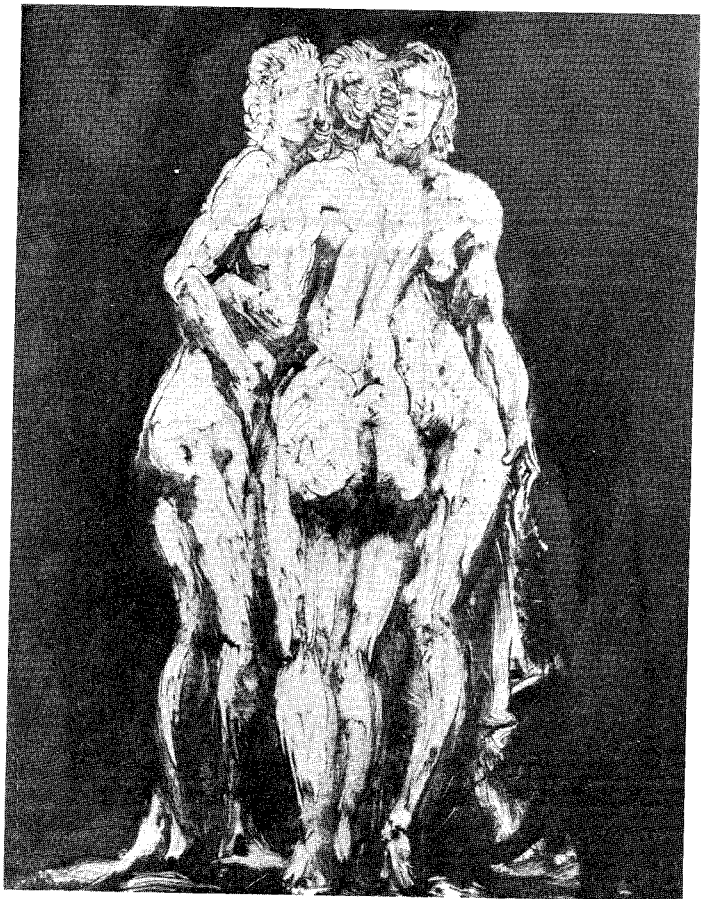
Coming from New York, he brought a great natural talent disciplined with the finest American art education combined with intelligence and wit. The ease with which he painted, etched, and monotyped, and the pleasure he experienced from his art are evident in all his works. Above all else, Van Sloun was a draftsman. He saw figures, forms, and patterns first, though he was also a superb colorist.

A restless spirit impelled Van Sloun to search, create, and perfect throughout his career. Most artists work to achieve a special technique in a particular painting medium of a specific subject matter. Each time Van Sloun mastered a technique, medium, or subject, he looked for a greater challenge. His mastery of every medium seems to make his work more diverse than it really is, as there is an unmistakable underlying unity in his work which links his earliest paintings of the 1900 period to ones completed just before his death in 1938. The unity to Van Sloun's work is the American scene rendered realistically with the human figure as the central element in his art.

Van Sloun's greatness as an American artist did not only lie in his skills, training, and God-given talent as an artist, but more importantly in his American roots. He was completely a product of America, not only in his art training but in his subject matter and technique.

It is clear that Van Sloun should have stayed in New York had he been concerned about fame or recognition. No doubt had he stayed there, history would have ranked him with the best American artists of his day. After coming to San Francisco in 1911, Van Sloun refused all inducements from friends and colleagues to return to New York. Undoubtedly his refusal to return stemmed from his

Van Sloun's "The Three Graces" (c. 1930) evidences his mastery of composition and development of the monotype medium. Collection of the author.



recognition of the conflict between the realities of the New York art marketplace and his independent nature which would not allow him to play the politics of art. Van Sloun was a modest man who abhorred ballyhoo. He had an intense conviction that an artist's work was all that need concern the public, and that his private life, ideals, and philosophy were his own concern.

While throughout his life Van Sloun modestly refused to acknowledge any of his vast numbers of honors, affiliations, and works of art (standard biographical listings mention only his birth and death dates, and occasionally misspell his name), perhaps it is time that the record be set straight and his biographical listing be changed to read:

Van Sloun, Frank J. Portrait, figure, and landscape painter, graphic artist, muralist, and teacher. Born St. Paul, Minnesota, 1879. Died San Francisco, California, 1938. Studied Art Students' League and Chase School with Henri. Taught drawing, painting, composition, illustration, portraiture, and anatomy at California School of Fine Arts, Art Students' League, and Van Sloun School of Art, San Francisco; University of California, Berkeley; and Art Students' League, New York, from 1911 to 1936. Exhibited at National Academy of Design, Art Students' League and National Arts Club, New York; Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C.; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art, Philadelphia Watercolor Club; San Francisco Art Association, San Francisco Museum of Art, Bohemian Club, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, DeYoung Museum, Palace of Fine Arts, San Francisco Art Students' League, San Francisco; Oakland Museum; University of California, Berkeley; and numerous galleries on the East and West coasts. Member San Francisco Art Association, California Society of Etchers, Society of Mural Painters, Union Internationale des Beaux-Arts et des Lettres (29 years), Bohemian Club (27 years), served on the Bohemian Club Board of Directors and elected to "Special List of Fifty."



"Andalusians" (c. 1934), a "new process" etching, is one of several Van Sloun prints on a lesbian theme. Fentor Corp.



OPPOSITE: *"Earth Woman," a "pen monotype" from 1933, displays the artist's innovation in the medium. Park's Gallery, San Jose.*

BELOW: *Van Sloun preferred subjects such as "Three Ladies of the Evening" (monotype, c. 1932) to more popular views of elegant women of leisure. Lorelei Rockwell and Wayne Kennedy Collection.*



Frank Van Sloun: California's Master Realist

Painter, muralist, graphic artist, and teacher, Frank Van Sloun was one of California's finest and most creative artists. A self-disciplined man with a wry sense of humor and a passion for reality, he is best known for his numerous easel and mural paintings. Intensely modest and of the belief that the artist's work is all that need and should concern the public, Van Sloun almost consciously assured that his honors and influence would go unexamined by art historians. Perhaps the major retrospective exhibition of some 200 works on display at the California Historical Society's San Francisco headquarters until the end of February will bring deserved recognition to this great California artist. The exhibit, assembled from collections throughout the country, includes oil, water color, and tempera paintings as well as sketches, monotypes, etchings, drawings, and mural cartoons. A richly illustrated volume of the life and works of Frank Van Sloun, designed by Andrew Hoyem, has been published in conjunction with the exhibit. The book by art dealer, author, and lecturer John Maxwell Desgrey is titled *Frank Van Sloun: American Realist*.

Born in St. Paul, Minnesota, on November 4, 1879, Frank Joseph Van Sloun spent much of his boyhood on his grandfather's farm and in the nearby town where he made his first serious figure sketches. Equal to his love of art was his love for sports, but the year that he signed to play professional baseball with the St. Paul team, he abruptly chose instead to go to New York to pursue his career as an artist.

Arriving in New York in 1900, Van Sloun first studied at the Art Students' League and later at the Chase School under the crusading realist painter, Robert Henri. The artist, Henri taught, should mix art and life, avoid the traditional and genteel subjects in vogue such as leisure-class women and architectural studies, face controversial and unconventional ideas with political overtones, and resist the pressures to enter the world of commercial art. Van Sloun's fellow students under Henri included George Bellows, Edward Hopper, Rockwell Kent, John Sloan, and others who all came to respect Van Sloun's outstanding ability. Van Sloun also allied himself with the Society of Independent Artists and helped organize their first exhibition in 1910. Like his independent and "anti-Academy" (National Academy of Design) contemporaries, he disavowed the value of European training for American artists, spending his formative years solely in the United States. (Only at the height of his career in the 1930's did he travel to Europe to visit the great museums.)

Had Van Sloun stayed in New York, no doubt he would have won recognition as one of the best American artists of his day. Already in 1909 he had been made a member of the Union International des Beaux-Arts et des Lettres, a distinguished group of internationally known painters and writers. In 1911, however, recognizing the conflict between the New York art marketplace and his determinedly independent nature, he moved to San Francisco, resisting for the rest of his life all inducements from his friends and colleagues to return to New York except for brief visits.

In San Francisco, too, Van Sloun retained his independence. Having studied anatomy under Thomas Anchutz, Van Sloun determinedly remained one of the very few California artists who painted figure and genre subjects rather than landscapes. When Van Sloun, his close friend Maynard Dixon, and Jimmy Swinnerton traveled to the Arizona desert on a painting expedition, Dixon, a talented landscape artist, disappointedly acknowledged that Van Sloun saw little that inspired him to paint. Van Sloun preferred typical American people in everyday life, particularly what came to be known as "Ash Can" subjects.

As an artist and teacher, Frank Van Sloun helped shape future figurative realists on the West Coast and strongly affected Society of Six members Louis Siegriest and Bernard Von Eichman. Van Sloun taught at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, the University of California at Berkeley, the San Francisco School of Fine Arts, and the Art Students' League in San Francisco. In 1918-19 he opened his own school called the Van Sloun School of Art at 21 City Hall in San Francisco, and in 1919-20 he returned to New York briefly to teach with Henri, Calder, and Max Weber at the Art Students' League.

A muralist as well, he completed sixty-three panels after his first California commission in 1914 for two lunettes at the mayor's office in the new Oakland City Hall. Forty of his murals remain throughout the state to be enjoyed today. In July, 1938, Van Sloun received a commission for three large mural decorations for the Agricultural Hall facing the Court of Flowers at the Golden Gate International Exposition. His oil sketches were approved, and as he was about to begin work on the canvasses, he suffered a fatal stroke at the age of fifty-nine on August 27, 1938. *Editor's Note.*



*Van Sloun's passion for the real, the mixing of art and life, led him to portray familiar American types such as "Papa and Mama" (etching, c. 1932).
Fenton Corporation.*

Van Sloun Portfolio



Van Sloun studied with the realist Henri in New York. The ink wash "New York Restaurant" (above) dates from 1904. Collection of the author.



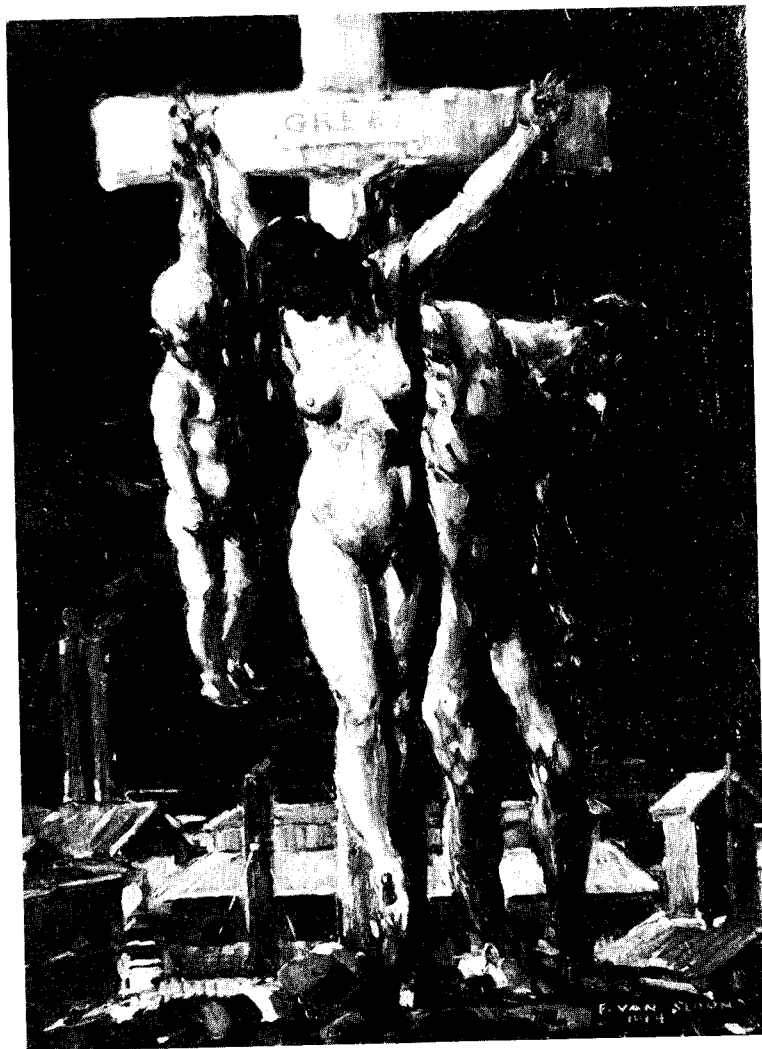
The oil on canvas "A Question" (left, c.1937) portrays an "Ash Can" subject ignored by most artists of the day. Austen D. Warburton Collection.



Van Sloun's artist friend Maynard Dixon posed for the monotype head, "The Prophet" (above). Phyllis Boynton Collection.



Typical Van Sloun American Scene subjects included the etching of "Annie of Polk Street" (left, 1935) and the mezzotint entitled "Young Man with Cigarette and Girl" (above, c. 1934). Fenton Corporation.



Van Sloun's only aggressively political work, the oil "Greed" (1914), portrays a mother and child crucified on a cross of economic and industrial avarice. John C. Jeffreyes Collection.

Maynard Dixon collaborated in 1927 with Van Sloun on this gouache mural cartoon for the Mark Hopkins Hotel's Room of the Dons. Its title is "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way." Collection of the author.





A technically accomplished practitioner, Van Sloun satirized lax artistic standards in "Lecture on Modern Art" (above, 1937), in which a cleaning woman addresses the critics. Whereabouts unknown.



A San Francisco street intersection, "Turk and Masonic" (right), appeared in this 1931 oil painting and other Van Sloun works. K. Stanley and Catherine Thompson Collection.





Van Sloun's brother Edward, an actor appearing as a French officer in the play Divorcons, posed for this oil "Portrait of an Actor" which was first exhibited at the National Academy on 1910. For the painting Van Sloun was awarded a medal by the international jury of the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1915. Collection of the author.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Day-by-Day Records: Diaries from the CHS Library

Compiled by LYNN BONFIELD DONOVAN, manuscript librarian, and LINDA CHISWICK, intern assistant from Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

THE LIBRARY OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is the repository for approximately 100 diaries. The following annotated bibliography has been prepared to facilitate and encourage the use of these valuable primary sources. Included in the bibliography are sixteen copies of diaries in the collections of other institutions. Fifty of CHS's diaries are listed, and the remainder will be included in a second bibliography to follow in a future issue of the *Quarterly*. A special word of appreciation goes to the many donors whose continuing support increases the value of the research material in the Library.

It is the desire to express and preserve a thought or an action that motivates many people to keep a diary. The kinds and classes of people who wrote and write diaries include the educated and the uneducated, the wealthy and the poor, the young and the old, the observant and the unobservant. Readers of diaries, on the other hand, generalize from an individual's unique story and discover a common bond of experiences, insights, and emotions with the diarist. When we look back in time, we are astonished at the quantum leaps taken by the world and its peoples. Diaries offer us a different perspective; they document civilization's consistencies throughout its transformations.

A glance at the bibliography reveals the variety of diarists represented in the Library's collection. Prominent California citizens Faxon Dean Atherton and Alfred Dean Wheeler and political activist Bernette G. Haskell were among the socially-conscious and civic-minded diarists. Clergymen P. F. Pitnam and Ferdinand C. Ewer proved to be sensitive recorders of society's moods and trends. The diaries of artist Helen Hyde and inventor Andrew S. Hallidie afford insights into creative minds. William C. Borlase and Jessie M. Post wrote exceptional travel diaries of places visited and people encountered in a world at once foreign and familiar to us today. The majority of diaries, however, remain those of undistinguished people whose recordings of daily events and observations reveal the concerns and issues affecting the common man and woman.

The Library's diaries represent an equally diverse range of dates and places. Six diaries span more than five years, even decades. The collection's earliest diary dates to 1774, the record of Fernando Javier Rivera y Moncada, Spanish military commander of California. Alfred Robinson's journals from the 1820's and 1830's document Yankee exploration of the West Coast and the first commercial trading with the Mexicans and Native Americans. Four other diaries also describe life in California before the discovery of gold.

It is not surprising that the collection contains an unusually large number of diaries written by westward-bound adventurers lured to California in 1849 and the years immediately following. Twenty-four describe overland journeys from the East Coast

to California; thirteen document equally hazardous sea voyages either around Cape Horn or across the Isthmus of Panama to the same destination point. Travel diaries record the experiences of mobile Americans whose occupations and adventuresome spirits took them around the United States and to South American coastal cities, Japan, and the Arctic.

Diaries were written for as many reasons as there were people to write them. They document a particular phase in a person's life, such as Lt. John McHenry Hollingsworth's tour of military duty with the First New York Volunteers in Mexican California. Diaries also served as the records of business enterprises. They reminded their authors of future responsibilities and of duties admirably performed. Many diarists wrote to ease loneliness or boredom or to savor and enjoy personal experiences. Only a few foresaw the historical significance of their diaries, and then only dimly.

The diaries exist in many different forms. Original texts are occasionally supplemented by handwritten and typed copies. Many were written on rule-lined copybooks or on loose-leaf pages collected in a folder. The various bindings and cover details in themselves afford a history of antiquarian books.

As a word of explanation it must be noted that this bibliography is restricted to diaries. Following the work of William Matthews, compiler of *American Diaries, An Annotated Bibliography of American Diaries Written Prior to the Year 1861* (1945), a diary is defined in this study as "a day-by-day record of what interested the diarist, each day's record being self-contained and written shortly after the events occurred." The bibliography does not include reminiscences, chronicles, or letters. Ships' logs that record the personal entries of ships' mates and diaries that briefly reminisce in order to bridge spans of time are included under the definition.

Emphasized in the bibliography are areas of interest in recent historical scholarship including the Native American and women. The Society's diaries of overland journeys

Overlanders crossing the plains in wagons like these recorded their often grim experiences.



are storehouses of information on Indian culture and Indian-emigrant relations; although diarists differed in approach and tone, all were fascinated by their encounter with the unfamiliar people and their way of life. In particular the little-used diary of George Osborne Wilson has been recognized as extremely valuable for its information on Indian linguistics. In the bibliography the names of Indian tribes recorded by the diarists have been standardized according to George P. Murdock's *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* (1941); Indian names not found in Murdock were left as written. Also of current interest are the eleven diaries written by women which add valuable insights into women's roles, models, attitudes, accomplishments, and social conditioning throughout the nineteenth century.

The bibliographer's entries are organized in the following manner: listed first are general facts, such as name, vital dates, place of birth (if known), place of residence(s) if different from place of birth, occupation(s), and any significant historical role. The next section of the paragraph identifies the diary's specific characteristics: the diary's time span, size of volume, and approximate number of pages; any art sketches or newspaper clippings; and any related material to, by, or about the author, such as letters. (The existence of the original text is assumed unless otherwise noted.) The third section of the listing describes the contents of the diary and analyzes the diary's readability and research value. Special note is made of particularly enjoyable and valuable diaries. Finally, the bibliography includes information about the publication of the diary or a portion of it.

More extensive information about diaries listed in the bibliography is available in the diary index forms filed in the CHS Library. Researched by CHS staff members, docents, Oberlin College intern students, and San Francisco State University students enrolled in Lynn Donovan's course in archives and research, these forms are complete descriptive guides that supply subject headings and name entries. Used in conjunction with each other, the bibliography and the diary index forms facilitate the use of the manuscripts by describing what is contained in the diaries.

ADAMS, Maria Abigail Henry (1836-1928) b. New Hampshire; boardinghouse keeper, dressmaker, wife, mother.

Diary, January 1860-July 1861, 27 pages.

Daily events in Dublin, New Hampshire, recorded by young woman whose husband is in California; weather, cost of purchases, village social events, friendship with family and other men and women; occasional expressions of loneliness and frustration.

ADAMS, Samuel (1810-1888), of New York; druggist.

Travel and daily diary, January 1849-March 1850, 250 pages; also handwritten copy.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn, with observations on nature and wildlife at sea; business pursuits and daily life in San Francisco; recurrent reflections on wife and children in New York. Diary accompanied by manuscript collection.

ANONYMOUS, member of Cayuga Joint Stock Company.

Travel diary, February-October 1849, May-June 1850, 59 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; sea voyage from San Francisco to Hawaii and return; complete membership list of Cayuga Joint Stock Company, a group organized to mine and trade in California; daily activities during journey, weather, ships, descriptions of Callao, Lima, Hawaii, and San Francisco, interesting account.

ATHERTON, Faxon Dean (1815-1877) b. Dedham, Massachusetts; businessman.

Travel and daily diary, 1836-1839, 122 pages.

Diary kept while employee of businessman Alpheus B. Thompson; many ships, commercial transactions, and other businessmen; experiences and impressions of Mexican California. Diary accompanied by manuscript collection.

Published: *The California Diary of Faxon Dean Atherton, 1836-1839*, edited and with an introduction by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1964).

BACHELDER, Dr. Amos (1811-1892) b. New Hampshire; doctor.

Typed copy of travel diary, June 1849-December 1850, 74 pages.

Overland journey from New Hampshire to Feather River, California, and return via the Isthmus of Panama; valuable sections on terrain, plant and animal life, Indians (Sioux, Pawnee, Snake, Panack [Bannock?], Hodges [?], Digger); assiduous attention to weather and mileage.

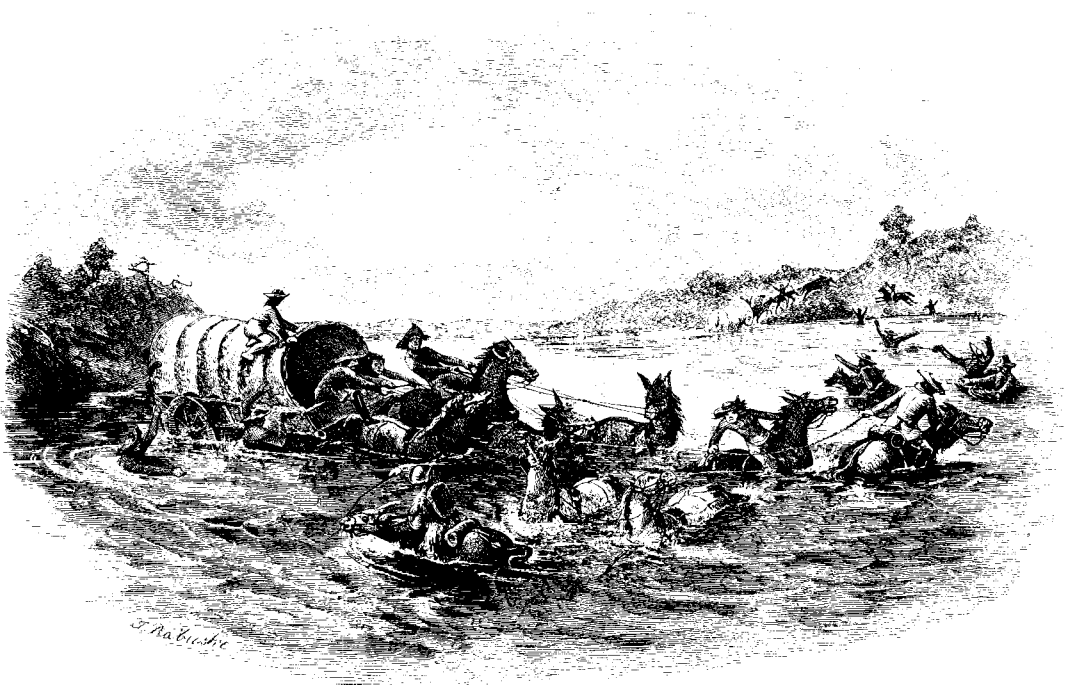
BACHMAN, Jacob Henry (1815-1879) b. New York; miner, justice of the peace.

Typed copy of travel diary, February 1849-November 1853, with notes to January 1878, 63 pages.

Member of Audubon-Webb company on overland journey from New York to San Francisco via Mexico and sea voyage from San Diego, settled at Fourth Crossing, California; hardships during journey, illness, death, provisions for livestock, skirmishes with Mexicans and Indians (Comanche, Papago, Pima, Huma), encounters with Chinese in California, terrain and weather; readable and informative.

Published: *California Historical Quarterly*, 21:289-310 (December 1942); 22:67-83 (March 1943).

Overland diarists frequently described harrowing journey experiences such as fording a river.



BAILEY, William Carey (1837-1913) b. Knoxville, Illinois, rancher

Typed copy of travel diary, 1850-1866, 209 pages.

Overland journey from Iowa to Smith River Valley, California, via Salt Lake City (1853); visit to British Columbia and residence in San Francisco before settling at Smith River; references to politics, Lincoln's election, and slavery issue; events in Del Norte, San Mateo, and Siskiyou counties; very readable description of an unmarried rancher's daily life, visits with neighbors, farming routine, books read, church and theater attendance, occasional philosophical passages.

BAIRDE, B. P., of Elgin, Illinois.

Typed copy of travel diary, September-December 1852, 19 pages.

Sea voyage from Illinois to San Jose via Isthmus of Panama, accompanied by Marietta Clark Gifford and children; mock presidential election aboard ship, detailed sketches of places visited, prices of goods, lodging and passage; impressions of California; frequent religious allusions throughout this literate and articulate man's very readable account.

BEACH, Joseph Perkins (1828-1911) b. Massachusetts; merchant, ship clerk, newspaper editor.

Photostat of original diary, January 1849-November 1849, 200 pages.

Log of the *Apollo's* voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; complete record of ship's course, map of route, visits to Lima, Callao, and Rio de Janeiro, activities aboard ship; merchant business in San Francisco; the well-educated twenty-one-year-old Beach demonstrates acuity in business and personal affairs.

BEE, Albert Wilson (1821-1863) b. Oneida County, New York; miner, commercial

"The mountains around us today were covered with snow and the little streams that crossed our path were as cold as ice and pure as crystal. The Alpine character of all things around has made pleasant the day's journey. It is somewhat singular but no less true that whenever our path has led over or among the mountains, the journey has been pleasant and the toils of the day forgotten as we gathered around the evening fire. On the contrary when our course has been over plains each feels dejected and worn while the hardships and toils of the way form the only conversation. The wayfarer to California can truly exclaim with Mudie [?], 'Thanks be to God for mountains.'"

D. Jagger diary, July 23, 1849

"The storms are howling among the tall pines, and we know not how long they may continue. When with that we add the accounts that reach us of the snows being so deep just above, and the waters having cut off all communication with the city below us, we cannot prevent a feeling of almost utter desolation taking possession of our thoughts. It is said that the mind gains new strength from each and every obstacle overcome, and that difficulties, danger and misfortune alone . . . [diary ends]."

D. Jagger diary, January 10, 1850

businessman, constructed the first telegraph line across the Sierra linking California and Nevada.

Typed copy of travel diary, January-June, 1849, 33 pages.

Sea voyage from New York to California around Cape Horn; daily activities aboard ship, smallpox epidemic; Rio de Janeiro, Juan Fernandes, Placerville, and Austin, Nevada; highly readable and descriptive.

BLOOM, Henry Sterling, of Joliet, Illinois; miner.

Photostat of typed copy of travel diary, March 1850-May 1852, 65 pages.

Overland journey from Illinois to Greenwood Valley, California; weather, daily mileage, plants and wildlife, illness, Indians, food and supplies, homesickness; joined father who ran the Illinois House in Greenwood Valley, returned home by sea via Isthmus; complete expense account of return trip included.

BORLASE, William C. (1849-1899) b. England; author, journalist.

Travel diary, 1875, 280 pages.

Social and educational journey through America via railroad and coach; Civil War and Reconstruction, including New Orleans Riot of September 14, 1874; Indian Delegation of Grievances; Chicago Fire of 1871; landmarks, social customs, law and order, architecture, Indians (Digger, Sioux, Choctaw, Sante Fe, Modoc), Blacks, women, Mormons; a thorough, valuable, and entertaining description of America through the eyes of a British gentleman and experienced traveler.

Incorporated in: *Sunways: A Record of Rambles in Many Lands* (Plymouth: W. Borendon & Son, 1878), pp. 87-255.

BRALY, Susannah Hyde (1805-1897), of Missouri; housewife, mother.

Diaries, 1867-1896, thirty volumes.

Wife of Cumberland Presbyterian preacher, John Eusebius Braly, who settled near Santa Clara, California, in 1847; religious thoughts, family life, and trips to Missouri, San Francisco, and neighboring communities; repetitious.

BREEN, John (1832-1903) b. Canada; miner, farmer, postmaster.

Diary, August 1853-January 1855, 150 pages.

Includes daily events in San Juan Bautista and home, weather, holidays, poetry; reflects little education and strict religious training.

BROWN, Orlando (1829-?), of Wisconsin; laborer.

Travel diary, April 1852-June 1853, 139 pages.

Overland journey from Madison, Wisconsin, to Portland, Oregon, with cattle train; description of travels and search for work in Northern California, observations on work conditions in mines and farms and on boats, concern with financial interactions; a few anecdotes on frontier justice.

CALL, Asa Cyrus (1823-?), of Iowa; student, farmer, cattle rancher, schoolteacher, judge.

Bound, typed copy of travel and daily diary, 1850-1853, 48 pages.

Overland journey from Indiana to Sonora, California; records agricultural development, weather, insects, animals, and plants of the Sonora region; Indians (Panama [Panamint?], Nez Perce); Oberlin College; philosophical essays on slavery, death, the family, and nature; an exciting record of an articulate and intelligent young man's adventures and observations during the early period of California settlement.

CHALMERS, Robert (1820-1886) b. Kilmarnick, Scotland; rope maker, fireman, miner, hotel owner, tax collector, El Dorado County treasurer, California state representative (1886).

Photocopy of travel diary, April–September 1850, 43 pages

Overland journey from eastern Canada to California, cholera epidemic, detailed account of Indians (Crow, Shoshoni, Pawnee, Sioux), terrain, hardships during journey, personal tragedies; an observant and curious adventurer.

COSAD, David, of New York; miner, carpenter.

Travel diary, March 1849–February 1850, 73 pages.

Overland journey from New York to Placerville; supplies for and hardships of journey, gold mining, Indians (Potawatomi, Pawnee, Sioux), Blacks; detailed and varied interests.

COWDEN, James S. (1826 [?]-?), of Keosauqua, Iowa.

Photocopy of travel diary, April–October 1853, 44 pages.

Overland journey by ox-team wagontrain from Iowa to Yreka City; weather and grazing conditions, land speculation on the Plains and possibility of transcontinental railroad, Indians (Sioux), law and order; an optimistic traveler with a pleasant style and detailed appreciation of landscape.

CRANSTONE, Susan Marsh.

Typed copy of travel diary, May–August 1851, 16 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri River to Columbia River, Oregon; Indians (Shions [Cheyenne?], Sioux), travel and grazing conditions; little description or interpretation.

DEY, R. L., of Oakland, California.

Travel diary, April–June of unknown year (Alaska gold rush of 1898?), 40 pages.

Journey from Ambler City, Alaska, to Cape Nome, Alaska, with fifteen men; gold mining, group morale, survival techniques, Indians (Selwick [?]); readable account.

DOBIE, William, of Michigan; stockkeeper in retail store.

Diary and reminiscence, 1872–1873, 80 pages.

Overland journey from Chicago to San Francisco by railroad; reminiscence of decision to emigrate, description of places visited, characterizations of fellow travelers and friends; engaging writing style.

“It was hard to part with them, two of my dearest friends, but life is a season of perpetual change, an everlasting series of good-byes and how-di-dos; and God knows I have had my full share of them.”

William Dobie diary, 1872

EGBERT, Eliza Ann McAuley (1835-?), of Iowa.

Typed copy of travel diary, April–September 1852, 57 pages.

Overland journey by ox team from Iowa to Dutch Flat, California; Indians (Sioux, Pawnee), travel and grazing conditions; interesting record of seventeen-year-old girl's impressions and activities.

EWER, Ferdinand Cartwright (1826–1883) b. Massachusetts; student, author, publisher, customs house collector, Episcopal clergyman, individual of local and national prominence

Diary, 1826-1860, 323 pages, includes newspaper clippings, letters, geneology charts, photographs.

Childhood in Massachusetts, education at Harvard University, sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn (1849); California publications, San Francisco politics and governance boards (Vigilance Committee, Know-Nothing Party, Board of Education), Grace Episcopal Church, business and social engagements with other notable San Franciscans, occasional references to family; written with intelligence and wit.

Biography: Henry Raup Wagner, "The Life of Ferdinand C. Ewer," *California Historical Quarterly*, 13:291-300 (December 1934); 14:74-79 (January 1935).

FARGO, Martha True (1834-1873), of Portage, Wisconsin; wife, mother.

Typed copy of diary, 1864, 20 pages.

Brief account of sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Isthmus of Panama; notes husband's participation in San Francisco Democratic party and national election, daily domestic activities; laconic entries without interpretation.

FARQUHAR, David Webber (1844-1905), of Boston; bookkeeper.

Travel and daily diary, October 1862-August 1864, 47 pages; also typed copy, 12 pages.

Sea voyage from Holliston, Massachusetts, to San Francisco, via Isthmus of Panama; detailed description of Panama crossing, wild life, ships, scenery; in San Francisco from October 1862 to February 1863, employed as bookkeeper by Hooker & Co.; in Sacramento from February 1863 to July 1864, employed by J. P. Carolan Co.; returned to New York by sea, July 1864. Manuscript collection includes typed diaries of other trips to East, 1883-1889.

GRISWOLD, Harriet Booth, of Kane County, Illinois; wife, mother.

Travel diary, April-October 1859, 83 pages.

Overland journey from Illinois to Diamond Springs, California; Indians, child care, weather and travel conditions; an uneventful yet well-written account.

"Converging to where the river formed several pleasant curves, we passed a number of Indian trails, but their footsteps are growing faint even in this their western home. Frémont says that the Indian and Buffalo form the poetry of prairie life, a fact we could easily comprehend when towards evening we saw a band on horseback scouring the plain in pursuit of a flock of deer or antelope."

D. Jagger diary, June 11, 1849

HALLIDIE, Andrew Smith (1836-1900) b. England; engineer, inventor, author, originator of cable car transportation, regent of the University of California.

Travel diary, January-May 1852, 120 pages.

Sea voyage from Liverpool to San Francisco via Isthmus of Panama; mechanisms of ships and machinery encountered during journey, cities visited, antics and characterizations of fellow passengers; a readable account.

HASKELL, Burnett G. (1857-1907) b. Sierra County, California; lawyer, labor leader, socialist, founder of Kaweah Colony.

Diaries, volume I, December 1878-July 1879; volume II, 1885-1886; 70 pages.

Volume I. courtship of Sophie McFarlane, poems and newspaper clippings from the *Argonaut*, mention of Socialist Union League; volume II: San Francisco labor organizations, especially the International Workingman's Association, labor strikes and riots, lists of labor newspapers throughout the nation; informative accounts.

HIXON, Jasper Morris (1807 [?]-?) b. Bowling Green, Kentucky, of Missouri; merchant.

Typed copy of travel diary, May-August 1849, 44 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri to California via Carson Pass; geology, engineering, Indians (Potawatomi, Pawnee, Sioux, Crow, Flathead), travel supplies and conditions; a highly entertaining and accurate account of a well-educated, successful merchant who harbored an uncommon suspicion of the gold rush fever.

Published: *Los Angeles Herald*, January 13, 1890-April 30, 1890, in installments.

HOLLINGSWORTH, John McHenry (1823-1889) b. Baltimore; lieutenant in the First New York Volunteers (Stevenson's Regiment), superintendent of Mount Vernon.

Travel diary, September 1846-August 1849, 327 pages; also typed and printed copies, illustrated with pencil and watercolor sketches of South America and California scenes.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco, Monterey, and Los Angeles around Cape Horn; military life and discipline, Mexicans, Indians, social life in California, gold prospecting, poetry, newspaper clippings; a notable diary.

Published: *California Historical Quarterly*, 1:207-270 (January 1923); *The Journal of Lieutenant John McHenry Hollingsworth of the First New York Volunteers* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1923).

HYDE, Helen (1868-1919) b. New York; artist.

Diaries, 1881-1882, 120 pages, illustrated with pencil sketches.

Daily activities of young girl growing up in a wealthy San Francisco family; holidays, painting and piano lessons, theater-going, father's death, President Garfield's assassination; dramatic style. Diary accompanied by manuscript collection spanning life and career.

Artist Helen Hyde's adolescent diary and pencil sketches are part of a larger manuscript collection spanning her life and career.



Lieutenant 7th Regiment

N. Y. S. Volunteers.

Maryland.

FEMALE CHARACTERISTICS.—We clip from the London Dispatch these two strange extracts from a book lately published in London entitled *Life of Agrippa*:

[illegible]

POWER OF PHASES—Aristotle may say that of all animals the males are stronger and wiser than the females, but St. Paul writes that weak things buffet the strong. Adam was chosen to confound the strong, but woman humbled him; timely endowed, strong, but woman made him captive; woman was created to be a helpmate, but woman seduced him; David was chosen to be a warrior, but woman disturbed his piety; Job was patient, but woman desecrated his piety; Job was pained, but woman robbed by the devil of his fortune and family; Job was afflicted, but woman oppressed, nothing provoked him to anger till a woman did it; therefore, proving herself stronger than the devil, in her own proving herself.

Exploratory journey (1846) into Canada and Lake Superior region with attention to copper mining and fur enterprises; historical account of capture and settling of Quebec and environs; overland journey (1849) from Ohio to Sacramento and Georgetown, California, through South Pass and Sublette's Cutoff, Indians (Pawnee, Digger),



John McHenry Hollingsworth, a lieutenant in the First New York Volunteers, kept an illustrated diary of his travels and experiences in California.

Indian burial customs, illnesses and deaths during journey, holidays, complete list of supplies and price values for journey, educated observations of botany, geology, and ornithology; further notations (1850-1860) about business ventures and settling in California; highly readable with personal reflections and judgments.

MALOON, Mary Eliza Warner (1849-1922) b. Walworth County, Wisconsin.

Travel diary, March-July 1864, 55 pages.

Overland journey from Illinois to Sardine Valley, California; Indians, horses, scenery, food, weather; an elementary style does not detract from this fourteen-year-old girl's vivid impressions.

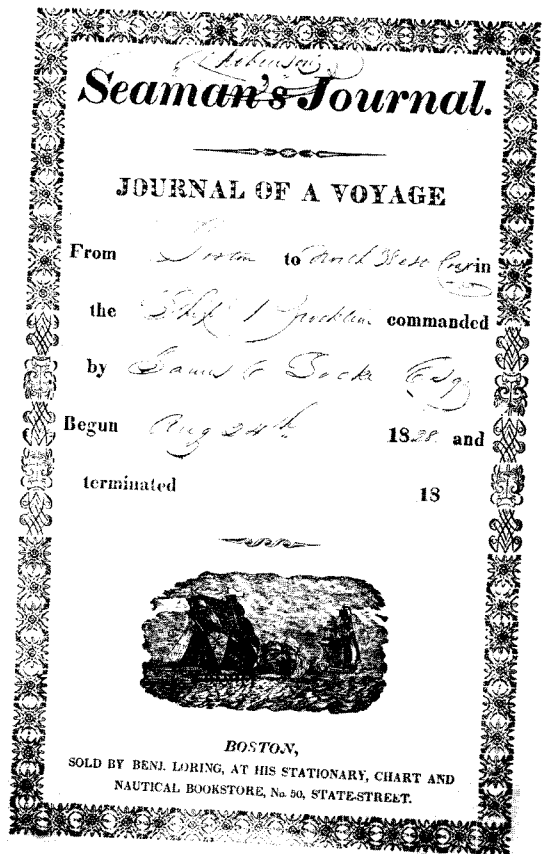
PARTRIDGE, Sam C. (1865-1900), of Oakland, California; photography shop owner.

Diary, January-June 1882, 150 pages.

Includes student life at Oakland High School, religious instruction, friendships, Chinese in San Francisco; factual and unemotional recording.



*Alfred Robinson, businessman
and author of the classic
Life in California, kept a journal
of his 1828-29 voyage to California
in this book printed especially
for the purpose.*



POST, Jessie M., of Rochester, New York.

Travel diary, January-May 1891, 135 pages.

Daily account of a cross-country vacation by railroad, visiting relatives, major monuments, and cities; social contacts of primary concern to this young, well-bred woman accompanied by two aunts, but a social conscience leads to observations on the Chinese, Mormons, Blacks, rural and southern women; occasional comments on personal behavior and philosophy.

POWELL, John Wesley (1857-1921) b. Jerusalem, Ohio; miner.

Travel diary, April-September 1859, 100 pages; also handwritten copy.

Overland journey from Iowa to Placerville by ox team; good description of travel conditions, Salt Lake City, Indian encounters, Fort Kearney; repetitive, unreliable.

PUTNAM, R. F., of Massachusetts; Episcopal clergyman.

Diary, 1862-1876, 340 pages.

Thorough descriptions of church functions and duties, social and business activities; includes sea voyage to California via Isthmus of Panama, and excursions to Oregon, Vancouver, and Yosemite; Indians (Sioux, Digger, Tar Head [?]), mining, Grass Valley history; extensive detail and characterization.

RIVERA y MONCADA, Fernando Javier; Spanish military commander of California (1774-1777).

Signed diary, September 2, 1774–December 31, 1774, 21 unnumbered leaves.

Used as a report to Spanish viceroy, diary details military activity in California, especially Presidio of Monterey, with frequent mention of San Diego, San Gabriel, and San Luis Obispo; lists of soldiers, craftsmen, and servants living in early Spanish settlements appended to diary, dated January 1, 1775, may be construed as one of earliest census records of California.

ROBINSON, Alfred (1807–1895) b. Boston; ship's clerk, agent for commercial shipping firm, business executive, author.

Ship journals with personal entries, volume I, 1828–29, 1837–38; volume II, 1829; 200 pages.

Sea voyage from Boston to Northwest Coast in ship *Brookline*, August 1828–February 1829. Also journal of a voyage from Santa Barbara to Boston, December 1837–March 1838. Volume II contains the journal on the coast of California, 1829, and copies of letters written to businessmen in the East, 1831–1835. Subjects include California missions, Indians, Mexican government, Anglo-American conquest; letters, drawings, poems. Diaries accompanied by manuscript collection.

SHEPARD, Isaac, Jr. (d. 1850), of New York.

Travel diary, April 1849–January 1850, 70 pages, includes poetry and sketches.

Sea voyage from New York to San Francisco around Cape Horn; member of Cayuga Joint Stock Company, an organization engaged in gold mining and trading in California; wild life in the South Atlantic and South Pacific oceans, weather, ship's route, activities aboard ship, characterizations of Cayuga Company members.

SMITH, Azariah, of Missouri; member of San Diego Mormon Battalion, Sutter's Mill employee, miner.

Photostat of travel diary, December 1846–July 1848, 20 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri to San Diego and the commencement of his return to Missouri; gold discovery at Sutter's Mill, Mormons' military service, Indians; readable and informative.

SMITH, Charles W., of Indiana.

Travel diary, April–August 1850, 170 pages.

Overland journey from Indiana to Weber Creek, California; characterizations of fellow travelers, Indians (Sioux, Digger), road and livestock conditions, distances traveled; highly articulate and descriptive with occasional religious quotations.

Published: *Journal of a Trip to California Across the Continent from Weston, Missouri, to Weber Creek, California, in the Summer of 1850*, edited and with an introduction and notes by R. W. G. Vail (New York, 1920).

SMITH, Martha Ann Grover (1833–1906), of Wiscasset, Maine; housewife.

Copy of travel diary, October–November 1854, 10 pages.

Sea voyage from Boston to New York to San Francisco via Isthmus of Panama; twenty-year-old woman traveling with her new husband, Edward Hall Smith, describes weather and ship's daily progress, tropical flora and fauna, overland crossing of Isthmus, yellow fever epidemic on ship, San Francisco, journey to Sacramento and Kenaha Valley where they settled.

THOMAS, Joseph N. (1818–?), of Independence, Missouri; miner.

Travel diary, May 1849–February 1850, 61 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri to California via the Santa Fe Trail; travel conditions of companions and animals, Indians (Cheyenne, Pawnee, Anpach [?], Yeomut [?]), Mormons, Kit Carson, Mexicans in California; repetitious, but some notable and informative segments

WATSON, Margaret Wickham (1891-1934); French teacher and translator, writer.
Diary, 1921-1925, 1931-1934; six volumes.

Describes publishing house employment in New York City, other writers, literary social events, meeting with Frederick O'Brien and subsequent friendship until his death in 1932, move to Bay Area in 1922 and work with O'Brien; discusses some feminist topics including feelings toward marriage, abortion, parents and friends; suicide in 1934 after long period of depression.

WHEELER, Alfred (1820-1903), of New York, lawyer.

Travel diary, May-November 1849, 60 pages.

Daily log of sea voyage from New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn; detailed description of shipboard life, weather, ship's course, and attitudes of passengers; entertaining story.

WILSON, George Osborne (1828-1879), b. East Machias, Maine; hunter, speculator.
Travel diary, 1849-1851, 88 pages.

Sea voyage from Maine to San Francisco around Cape Horn; voyage from San Francisco to Puget Sound; account of hunting expedition in Oregon Territory; careful observations of sea conditions, location, other ships, birds, fish; extensive details of Oregon Indians, their relationships and language; a valuable picture of a new westerner's frontier life.

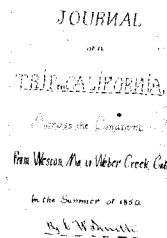
"Sea smooth. . . . All hands receive a shock from the Duct Galvanometer. The 2nd Mate and one of the Crew had a *brush* with their tongues and concluded not to try their Batteries upon each other. All hands getting tired of each other and wish that the voyage might soon come to its termination. A discussion this morning before breakfast; some exciting language used, but no blows struck. Question: Can one person teach another things that he does not know himself? A ballot of the house was not taken."

George O. Wilson diary, January 24, 1849

WILSON, Robert Milton (1828-1883) b. Osage County, Missouri; medical doctor, miner/pro prospector, livery stable businessman.

Typed copies (two variations) of travel diary, April 1850-April 1851, 23 pages.

Overland journey from Missouri to California by ox team, care of companions, illnesses and deaths, provisions, livestock conditions, mining, Indians, law and order, prostitution; a detailed account by a hard-working, literate man.



Book Reviews

INSTANT CITIES: URBANIZATION AND THE RISE OF SAN FRANCISCO AND DENVER.
By Gunther Barth. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975. 311 pp. \$11.95.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *Reviews Editor*.

American historians have finally discovered the far western city. After decades of concentrating on the story of the rural and "wild" west, scholars now are seriously studying the development of urban society in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coast regions. Such studies are long overdue; California has been one of the most urbanized states in the union for more than a century.

The latest example of the new emphasis on urban history is Gunther Barth's account of the rapid growth of San Francisco and Denver immediately following the California and Colorado gold rushes. Barth contends that these two "instant cities" exemplify "an urban tradition of more than two thousand years," stretching back to the creation of Hellenic colonies on the shores of the Mediterranean. He finds parallels between the development of San Francisco and Denver and that of the Central European mining towns formed during the late Middle Ages. Curiously, Barth ignores another historical parallel: the "silver rushes" to Spanish-American mining centers such as Zacatecas and Guanajuato during the mid-sixteenth century.

But while emphasizing broad historical similarities, Barth also claims that San Francisco and Denver had some distinctive characteristics. The two cities were "unique variants of the instant city in the United States," and he contrasts their chaotic growth with the ordered development of Salt Lake City and the relative stagnation of Monterey, Santa Fe, and Champoege.

These broad comparisons and contrasts are the most valuable parts of the book. Unfortunately, his treatment of the history of San Francisco and Denver is impressionistic and contains little that is new. Barth believes that the instant citizens of the new western metropolises were "out to make themselves rich, not to build cities"; thus, there arose conflict between the strong individual desire for wealth and freedom and the social necessity for cooperation and order. He contends that it was this conflict, magnified by explosive population and economic growth, that made San Francisco and Denver so different from other American cities and so similar to each other. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, technology in the form of cable cars, trolleys, and telephones "stripped the instant cities of their most distinctive features" and made them increasingly similar to urban centers around the country.

Barth too often is content to state rather than demonstrate his points. He assumes but does not try to prove that internal social conflicts in San Francisco and Denver were substantially different from those in rapidly growing cities in the East and Midwest—Chicago or Cincinnati for example. He dismisses as "superficial," and thus does not seriously discuss, the social and cultural effects of the differences in geography between the port city of San Francisco and the landlocked community of Denver.

Instant Cities, then, raises as many questions as it answers about the history of San Francisco and Denver. Fortunately, they are the kinds of questions that are grist for the historian's mill. Barth's generalizations will be tested, challenged, and in many cases probably confirmed by other scholars, and in the process we will learn a great deal more than we now know about the development of the far western city.

NO TEARS FOR THE GENERAL: THE LIFE OF ALFRED SULLY, 1821-1879. By Langdon Sully. (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1974. Foreword by Ray Allen Billington. 255 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$9.95).

TO UTAH WITH THE DRAGOONS AND GLIMPSES OF LIFE IN ARIZONA AND CALIFORNIA 1858-1859. Edited by Harold D. Langley. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1974. xvi, 230 pp. Illustrations, maps. \$8.50).

Reviewed by WILLIAM F. STROBRIDGE, a Regular Army officer stationed at the Presidio of San Francisco.

New, eyewitness information on Northern California during the years 1849-1853 highlights *No Tears for the General*. Written by Brigadier General Alfred Sully's grandson and based on Sully's nineteenth-century letters, the book covers American California and the Plains frontier, plus intervals concerning the Vera Cruz campaign in Mexico and a year of Civil War fighting on the eastern seaboard. History overlooked General Sully as an Indian campaigner, in the author's view, a neglect he seeks to correct with this book.

In addition to 350 letters preserved by his family, Sully's biography is sharpened by General Sully's own art work, including three water colors from the Oakland Museum. After relating his experiences in Mexico, Sully describes high civilian wages and Army desertions in gold rush California while he was stationed at Monterey. Refused permission to go to the gold mines himself, he was transferred to Benicia, the "meanest, most uncomfortable place in California." About a third of the book is devoted to California. Numerous quotations from the career soldier's letters, plus his contemporary illustrations of town and rancho life, vividly portray a Philadelphia-bred, West Point-educated lieutenant's view of the *Californios*, rapid changes in their life style, and of the state's wildlife now disappeared.

Sent back to Monterey from the Benicia Army post, Sully painted scenery for the town's theatre. Like many American officers, he dined at the Jimeno home. Protestant Sully fell in love with the Catholic family's young daughter. Thoughts of leaving the Army subsequent to his marriage to the Jimeno girl were dashed by the deaths of his young wife and baby son. Following a visit to the de la Guerra household in Santa Barbara, Sully suffered a second tour at Benicia and eventually headed east for duty in Minnesota and the Dakotas.

With the outbreak of war between the North and South, Sully remained a Union officer. Ordered back to the frontier from Virginia because of the Sioux uprising, Sully was sympathetic to the Indians but nevertheless a hard campaigner. Instead of the Indian reservation concept, Sully recommended that the United States establish a mission system for the tribes similar to the one in Old California.

Reverting to his peace time rank, Sully was kept on the Plains despite increasingly poor health. No fan of George Custer and bitter over his own post-war treatment, Sully, too ill to mount his horse, moved from fort to fort and died at Vancouver Barracks in 1879.

Californians can be glad that the author has deposited General Sully's letters at the Huntington Library where other researchers may find additional descriptions of the soldier's California acquaintances and West Point classmates not contained in this book. For historian detectives, the author leaves Sully's water colors of Shasta and the Rogue River to find after they disappeared forty years ago.

While Sully went east for the Civil War, California Volunteers went to Utah. Much of *To Utah With the Dragoons*, an account of an earlier, Regular Army expedition

against the Mormons in 1858, explains indirectly why Patrick Connor and his Third California were not enthusiastically greeted by Salt Lake City's population in 1862. Written by an enlisted man for the *Philadelphia Bulletin* in 1858-1859 and edited by the Smithsonian's Harold D. Langley for modern readers, the account describes Army camp life and soldier attitudes in the pre-Civil War West.

Signing his newspaper copy as "Utah," the anonymous scribe for the *Bulletin*, whom Langley believes to be a twenty-eight-year-old German immigrant turned soldier, was wounded during an Indian engagement. He then joined a cattle drive to Southern California, where he was surprised to find bars and gambling houses open in Los Angeles on Sunday. Reporting on the Gila mines and events in California from March to May, 1859, "Utah" experienced his first earthquake. The *Bulletin* stopped printing his California letters, roughly one quarter of this book, in June, 1859.

Both books have bibliographies and are indexed. Fort Yuma, an important supply base, is mentioned by "Utah" but omitted from the index. Descriptions of California in *No Tears for the General* and *To Utah With the Dragoons* supply fresh insights on the workaday West by two men trained to be observant. For unearthing new sources, California history buffs can be grateful to Langdon Sully and Harold Langley.

THE ENDURING GIANTS. By Joseph H. Engbeck, Jr. (Berkeley: University Extension, University of California, 1973. 120 pp. Illustrations, maps. Paper. \$4.50.)

Reviewed by DOUGLAS F. DAVIS, assistant director for publications, Forest History Society, Santa Cruz.

Blessed with abundant and varied scenic natural resources, California, like the rest of the nation, has reflected a persisting ambivalence toward its natural inheritance. The issue of preservation versus use, complex and often bitterly debated, has surfaced repeatedly in the past century, notably but not exclusively in efforts to establish national and state parks. Engbeck's *The Enduring Giants* combines a beautifully written natural history of California's giant sequoias (*Sequoiadendron giganteum*) with a well-researched and detailed history of the struggle to establish Calaveras Big Trees State Park. The book is impressively illustrated.

Engbeck's natural history of the giant sequoia (not to be confused with the coastal redwood, *Sequoia sempervirens*), is poetic, evoking a sense of the forest in its seasons and complex life patterns. Plant and animal communities are described, and a geologic history of the redwoods is included. Engbeck means to show us that a forest environment is like a symphony; the more we understand its complex interrelationships, the deeper our appreciation will be.

With the discovery of the giant sequoias by Zenas Leonard in 1833, western history overlaps with natural history, and the tone and content of the second half of the book are distinctively different from that of the first half. Engbeck credits the Indians with first discovery of the sequoias, and after describing their life ways and attitudes toward the big trees, launches into the story of the white man's impact on the Calaveras groves.

The Calaveras groves, east of Sacramento, are part of a 250-mile belt of scattered groves of giant sequoias along the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. By focusing on Calaveras, Engbeck is able to supply a wealth of information about individuals, events, and processes involved in preserving the local groves. Prominent conservationists such as John Muir, Stephen T. Mather, Horace M. Albright, Newton Drury, Aubrey Drury, and J. C. Sperry are part of the story. The author is successful in generating a sense of how the preservation effort felt from the inside as group after group tried and failed to

save the groves until final success in 1954. But although the narrative touches upon events elsewhere in the sequoia belt, reference to the larger conservation picture in California and the nation would have clarified some of the Calaveras difficulties.

The basic problem was that the Calaveras groves had become private property in the 1850's, and the price tag continually escalated out of reach as ownership changed and time passed. Lumbering interests acquired the property, and preservation efforts became desperate. Yet, it seems clear that competition with other conservation efforts partly explains why major attention was not granted early to the Calaveras groves. The large scale organizational push that culminated with the establishment of Yosemite and Sequoia national parks south of Calaveras in 1890 diverted effort and attention from Calaveras. John Muir and the Sierra Club were fighting to save Hetch-Hetchy from 1907 to 1913, and the Save-the-Redwoods League was concerned primarily with the more endangered coastal redwoods. The latter made excellent lumber, in contrast to the brittle, low-grade lumber obtained from the giant sequoias, and was being cut at a rapid rate. Still, in the end, the Sierra Club helped, and the Save-the-Redwoods League came through with a crucial one-million dollar donation from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in 1954.

The Enduring Giants is aimed at the general reader. No reference is made to primary source material, and the selected bibliography will not be of interest to the California historian.

LOS ANGELES: EPIC OF A CITY. By Lynn Bowman. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1974. 398 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00)

Reviewed by JOHN CAUGHEY, professor of history, University of California, Los Angeles.

Felicitously written and rich in anecdote, Lynn Bowman's *Los Angeles* should attract many readers. The prime accounts have been Will Robinson's *Los Angeles, a Profile* (1968) and John D. Weaver's *L.A.: El Pueblo Grande* (1973), each a slender volume, and Remi Nadeau's well-balanced *Los Angeles from Mission to Modern City* (1960). Much further back one comes to James M. Guinn's *Los Angeles and Environs* (1915), not to mention J. Albert Wilson's elaborately illustrated inventory of 1880. Among the modern works, Bowman's is much the most generous with details.

Though familiar with the scene, Mrs. Bowman is less thoroughly at home in this local history than Robinson or Weaver or Nadeau. This leads to an occasional slip, as in referring to John C. Frémont as "tall," or in placing the start and finish of the famous match race between Black Swan and Sarco four-and-a-half miles down the San Pedro road rather than at the pueblo.

After a chapter on the founding of the pueblo, her book has three chapters on Remoteness, Warfare, and Ranchos, each dated 1781-1848. These are not the inevitable three topics for the Spanish and Mexican periods, and running through this time zone three times may confuse. But the book's 140 pages allow for generous detail on the processes of building up the community to three or four thousand souls.

A chapter on Los Angeles as a tough cowtown carries to 1868. A more miscellaneous recital on the Chinese massacre, decline of banditry, entrance of railroads, real estate speculations, and a backyard oil boom extends the coverage to 1900. Another chapter involving moviemaking, the first aqueduct, the Pacific Electric, Griffith Park, the Times bombing, and America's first international air meet, culminates with the Olympics of 1932. These 150 pages describe the remarkable expansion of Los Angeles, still very much

with the aspect of a country town, but now an impressive aggregate of a million-and-a-quarter Angelenos, fiercely loyal, though many of them had just arrived on the scene.

The foregoing undoubtedly is part of the epic of this city. Ahead lay the ordeal of the Great Depression, the war industries, a Great Prosperity built on automobiles, plane building, more lucrative contracts for the Cold War, the fighting in Korea and Vietnam, and the race to the moon. Los Angeles would become freeway city, embark upon high rise, and acquire many attributes of sophistication. It would also swell to a metropolitan cluster of seven to ten million persons. For this epic climax the author saved only one chapter and a brief epilogue.

The current bicentennial revivalism encourages a retreat into the more distant past. Mrs. Bowman's mode of operation also pushed her in that direction. With little resort to scholarly journals or to manuscript materials, she immersed herself in the substantial library of standard reminiscences and reference books on Los Angeles. Seemingly she passed over such writers as Rice, Brewer, Fogelson, Baur, Salvador, Walker, Mayo, Ostrom, and Outland, but made good use of the writings of numerous others such as Newmark, Bell, Bancroft, Guinn, Bolton, Cleland, Sánchez, Bixby-Smith, Dumke, Hill, Robinson, Nadeau, and company. This entire body of literature, as is well known, is strongest on the nineteenth and very early twentieth century, which may well suggest that many readers will accept a city history so constructed.

James Madison Alden: Yankee Artist of the Pacific Coast, 1854-1860. By Franz Stenzel. (Fort Worth. Amon Carter Museum, 1975. 209 pp. Illustrations in color and black and white. \$25.00.)

Reviewed by JOSEPH A. BAIRD, *professor at University of California, Davis.*

This handsome, hardback book was designed in part to accompany an exhibition of James Alden's water colors and pencil drawings which is touring six midwestern and western American museums from Oklahoma to Alaska. It is, however, far more definitive than the usual exhibition catalogue and constitutes a thorough study of a relatively short period in the long life of the artist—one which is of great documentary importance for the then comparatively unknown area of California to the Northwest. Since James Madison Alden (1834-1922) was both the artistic heir of the artists of numerous voyages of discovery to the Pacific and a keen observer in his own right, there is a sustained continuation here of what had been occasional, chance encounters between earlier draughtsmen and these "exotic" new sites—Alden was the artist of the United States Survey of the West Coast from 1854 to 1857 and official artist of the Northwestern Boundary Survey from 1858 to 1860.

Dr. Franz Stenzel and his wife Kathryn have themselves a major group of Alden water colors of the 1850's; in investigating the places represented on them and the facts of the artist's life, they added ever increasing knowledge about the other works of this period. The present book is the distillation of that knowledge, with numerous illustrations of all of Alden's work of this crucial epoch in Western history—partly as an exhibition catalogue, but more significantly as a definitive record of all presently-known information about the artist's life and work from 1854 to 1860. (Prologue and epilogue chapters give the facts of his training before 1854 and his later work as well.)

The book follows on the recently published study of Cleveland Rockwell by Dr. Stenzel—a similarly composed and illustrated monograph on another early Western artist—like Alden imperfectly known and with numerous works needing assembly into

a unified whole. Both books underly a long term project of Dr. and Mrs. Stenzel to provide a complete survey of the artists of the Pacific Northwest—which all students of western art will continue to await with enthusiasm. Both of the presently published studies are characterized by much the same *modus operandi* and style. The biography of the artist is thoroughly studied and laid out in an orderly fashion from period to period, with accompanying aesthetic notes of a succinct nature. Dr. Stenzel is essentially a recorder of facts; his style is straightforward and plain. The paragraphs are short, the sentences unadorned.

There is in the present work a lesser amount of speculative interpolation by the author, with cautious “probablys” where he wishes to make clear that these inferences are not certainties. The book, in essence, is a thoughtfully detailed, almost day-by-day log of Alden’s travels and work. It has the usual scholarly apparatus of footnotes, bibliography and index, with a formidable list of acknowledgments—indicating the wide travels and work of the Stenzels. The color reproductions are carefully executed to reveal the soft, delicate character of water color painting; by comparison, the black and white reproductions seem a trifle less successful. Water color is a perilously difficult medium to capture in black and white; clearly, costs made overall use of color impractical. There are a few typographical errors, and sometimes Dr. Stenzel has not used “(sic)” as consistently as he might. Personally, I wish he had not given William Birch McMurtrie “second billing”; McMurtrie was capable of certain subtle effects that the always slightly yet delightfully primitive Alden could not master. No matter, both were superb recorders of a long departed, forever lost Elysian West.

The book’s finale is a painstaking proof of the integrity of James Madison Alden as artist; his long confusion with his uncle, Lieutenant and later Admiral James Alden, who was never an artist has made the identification of his importance less obvious up to now. With the publication of the present work, James Madison Alden takes his rightful place in western art history.



California Check List

JAY WILLIAR, Reference Librarian

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1975-76) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographic information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

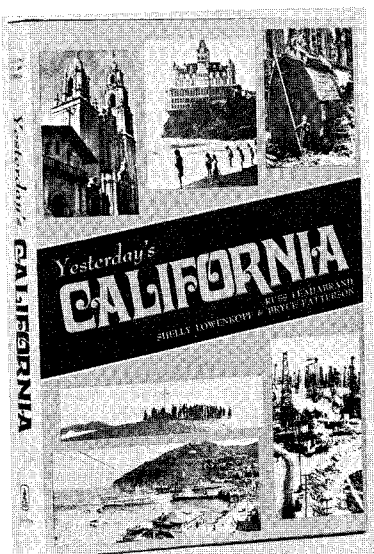
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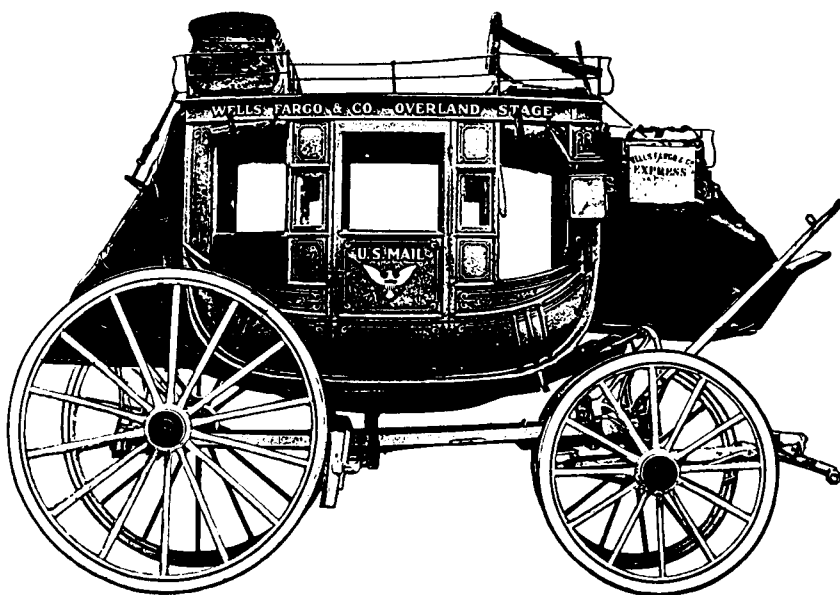
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